Daily Report

Latin America

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FBIS-LAT-90-230 *29 November 1990*

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Fujimori Meets Colombian, Venezuelan Ministers

PY2811151690 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0155 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Lima, 27 Nov (EFE)—Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori, Colombian Foreign Minister Luis Fernando Jaramillo, and Venezuelan Foreign Minister Reynaldo Figueredo met today in Lima to discuss the assistance the regional organizations will render to Peru.

Jaramillo has reported on the topics discussed in the meeting and commented on the support the Rio Group and the Andean Pact Group will offer Peru—a member of both organizations—in accordance with the recent resolutions issued by the presidents of the countries that make up the two groups.

The Rio Group is a consulting and integration group created in 1986. It includes Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Mexico, Paraguay, and Venezuela.

The Colombian minister has explained that several ways of supporting Peru were discussed during the meeting, and among other types of support, Colombia can help Peru with food.

Fujimori's private meeting with the two ministers lasted 50 minutes, but the Government Palace has not officially reported on it.

Jaramillo commented on the meeting at the international airport where he bade farewell to his Peruvian counterpart Luis Marchand and his Venezuelan counterpart Reynaldo Figueredo, who left today for La Paz, Bolivia to attend the preparatory meeting for the Andean Group presidential summit scheduled for 29-30 November.

The Andean Group is comprised of: Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador.

The Colombian foreign minister explained that Colombian Vice President Rodrigo Pareja will attend the preparatory meeting on his behalf because he will leave for New York tomorrow and will only be able to travel to La Paz for the presidential summit.

Cuba

Commentary Previews UN Vote on Gulf Crisis

FL2811172590 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1255 GMT 28 Nov 90

["Our Opinion" commentary from the "Haciendo Radio" program by Jose Armas—read by Roberto Canela]

[Text] The UN Security Council has scheduled for tomorrow a session that might decide the outcome of the crisis in the Persian Gulf. The decision reached will therefore be historic, and its repercussions may affect the entire world. Semantics aside, the essence of what is being proposed is a vote on a resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq if Baghdad does not withdraw from Kuwait before 1 January and comply with the other resolutions approved by the Council.

It appears highly unlikely that the resolution, which is being sponsored by the United States and Great Britain, will be defeated in the Council. Passage requires an affirmative vote by nine of the 15 members, as long as it is not vetoed by any of the permanent members. It is expected, however, that neither the USSR nor China will exercise their veto rights, even if they vote against the resolution. Consequently, the resolution will have the affirmative votes of at least the United States, Great Britain, France, the Ivory Coast, Ethiopia, Zaire, Canada, Finland, and Romania; in other words, the nine votes needed.

The United States has held high-level meetings with Cuba, but our country has reaffirmed it will not vote in favor of a proposed resolution that represents a blank check for war. Cuba supports the restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty, but by peaceful means.

What does the present status of the crisis demonstrate? During the almost four months of conflict we have maintained the following: That the U.S. efforts have been directed toward a military solution; that the U.S. objective has not been solely the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait, but the elimination of Saddam Husayn's government; and that the Security Council has enormously facilitated U.S. plans. Let us recall that 10 days after the invasion, President Husayn proposed negotiations on Kuwait, if talks were also held on other Middle Eastern problems. Similar proposals were subsequently made by Iraq, but they were always ignored by the United States.

Meanwhile, Washington continued to increase its military potential in the Gulf, taking it to limits unprecedented since the last world war. No hint of a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis has been taken into consideration by the United States at any time. Instead, the U.S. Government has reinforced its strategy of justifying the use of force against Iraq, particularly in the past few days.

In Saudi Arabia, President Bush compared Husayn with Hitler. He said that Iraq possesses weapons for mass destruction, and he warned against that alleged threat. Richard Cheney, the head of the Pentagon, and Brent Scowcroft, the head of the Presidential Security Council, [titles as heard], also made dramatic remarks on this subject. The two stated that the Iraqi nuclear threat would become a reality in one year, despite the embargo. Cheney went even further, saying, very significantly, that at this time, Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait would not avert the danger. Scowcroft said it is not possible to wait a year or two for the sanctions to disrupt the Iraqi economy.

In other words, world public opinion is being psychologically prepared to accept war in the Gulf. No wonder (Gary Mulholland), an expert in nuclear weapons, declared to THE NEW YORK TIMES that U.S. warnings are exaggerated. At the same time, he asked: What could Iraq do against the three nuclear powers that would be involved in any possible conflict—the United States, Great Britain, and France—and with another country with nuclear weapons, Israel, ready to intervene?

It is obvious that the United States is about to obtain approval of a recourse which, if employed, will have unforeseeable consequences. It is also obvious, however, that if the United States obtains a green light—as it apparently will—war in the Gulf will be inevitable, under the cover of being an international operation. There are too many economic, political, partisan, hegemonic, and even personal interests involved for one not to expect the worst. A failure to use force would be a contradiction of the traditional course followed in U.S. politics. The ball is in the court of those who can make decisions in this matter. These deeds will be judged not so much by men but by history.

Court Sentences Human Rights Group Members

FL2811150090 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1400 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] A municipal court in Havana has handed down sentences to eight people who were tried for illegal association. Tania Diaz Castro, the main defendent, told the court that she was ashamed of the illegal activity she had carried out since July 1988 as the leader of a group supposedly set up to defend human rights. She explained that they had been manipulated by the U.S. Interests Section in Havana. Diaz Castro was sentenced to one year in prison, commuted to limited freedom with time remitted for the period she had already served. Likewise, the other seven defendents received sentences from three to 10 months of limited freedom, which will be served outside of prison with some restrictions.

Aldana, PCC Officials Meet Religious Leaders

FL2811193890 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Report by Maribel Puerto]

[Text] Leaders of evangelical churches have met with leaders of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] and the Cuban Government in the Camilo Cienfuegos Theater of the Public Health Ministry. Carlos Aldana, member of the PCC Secretariat, and Jose Felipe Carneado, chief of the Religious Affairs Department of the PCC Central Committee, headed the meeting, which was also attended by Zoila Benitez, vice president of the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP], representing the ANPP, as well as leaders of the PCC from Havana and Havana City provinces.

Raul Suarez, president of the Ecumenical Council, ceded the microphone to 18 Christians who participated as representatives of their respective religious denominations. All the speakers agreed that 2 April 1990, the date of their meeting with Fidel Castro, opened the doors to church-state dialogue, a door that must remain open to successfully achieve one of their common interests—strengthening of the people's unity in defense of the Cuban revolution. They described this as a good step toward God's reign.

It was reiterated that today, more than ever, Marxists and Christians must be united to help the revolution resolve its problems. We pray for this, they said.

In a subject as controversial as the entry of believers into the PCC, it was interesting to listen to an address that maintained the issue is not their entry by quota, which is unacceptable. Instead, they should be incorporated when the workers themselves, the Christian comrades, realize that the Christians also have moral and revolutionary merit.

The closing speech of the meeting was made by Carlos Aldana, a member of the Secretariat of the PCC Central Committee.

[Begin Aldana recording] It has been appropriately said here that even though we can point to, and hail 2 April as a milestone, we cannot speak of it as a miracle. We have to speak of a process, a historic process, which has many participants, many of them anonymous, who gradually made it possible to achieve this maturity of conscience in the Christians and in the Marxists, in the Church and in the revolution, that led us toward 2 April. I am one of those who believe that it could have happened sooner. It could have happened sooner, but we are not going to dwell on that now. It happened. It is happening. That is what is truly important. We have now arrived at a point of no return. Note that. We cannot go backward. Any step taken will always be forward. [applause] [end recording]

Number of Bus Stops Reduced To Save Fuel

FL2911023090 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Excerpt] City bus stops will be modified in Havana beginning next Saturday to save fuel and lengthen the lives of buses. Of the over 9,000 bus stops in the capital, 806 will be reduced beginning 1 December. The average distance between stops in regular routes will be 552 meters. It is not a matter of completely eliminating certain stops but of rationally reducing the number of buses that coincide at certain points.

In the case of express routes, the distance between stops will be approximately one kilometer, and in suburban routes, route 400 for example, it will be increased to 1,500 meters.

The city buses management in the capital reported that these measures will save no less than five tons of fuel daily, the fulfillment of the bus schedules will be supervised more easily, and buses will break down less. They said the idea is to eliminate frequent stops and reduce the demand on some.

A device will be installed in all buses in the capital. This will contribute to the safety of passengers. It is alarming the number of people injured in Havana for traveling next to the buses' doors. For example, over 80 people fell into streets because of moving vehicles from January to October. Seven died and some [words indistinct] suffered serious injuries. Most of the responsibility lies with the passengers. [passage omitted]

Havana Ambassador in Argentina Tours Rio Negro

FL2811135090 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Authorities and businessmen in the Argentine state of Rio Negro expressed interest in increasing trade with Cuba during a visit made by Cuban Ambassador Miguel Brugueras. Brugueras traveled there at the invitation of Rio Negro Governor (Horacio Mazazesi), with whom he spoke and toured the region for three days. Businessmen in the region expressed their conviction that Cuba is a secure market and voiced their interest in studying possible categories of trade and cooperation in fishing and tourism. They also explored ideas about increasing cooperation in the field of health and other social fields of mutual interest.

Montane Meets Chilean Socialist Party Leaders

FL2811140390 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] A Cuban delegation to the unity congress of the Chilean Socialist Party headed by Jesus Montane Oropesa met that party's leaders in Santiago. Montane, an assistant to Communist Party of Cuba First Secretary Fidel Castro, and the other members of the delegation conversed cordially with Socialist Party President (Jorge Arrate), and (Guillermo Sabana), the secretary in charge of international relations. The Cuban delegation also visited the Chilean Ministry of Economy, where they met with Economy Minister Carlos Ominami. They also had a fraternal meeting with Volodia Teitelboim, secretary general of the Communist Party of Chile.

Inter-Caribbean Affairs

Radio Caribbean International Resumes Activity

FL2811233590 Bridgetown CANA in English 2039 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Castries, St. Lucia, Nov 28, CANA—St. Lucia-based Radio Caribbean International, which ceased broadcasting on medium wave several years ago, is returning with new programme format aimed at an expanded audience in the Eastern Caribbean, a spokesman said on Wednesday.

Christian Bonnel, the station's programme director, said test transmissions had started on the old mw frequency of 840 kilohertz aimed mainly at listeners here, as well as in Barbados, St. Vincent, Martinique, and Dominica. The station, owned by the French state company Sosirad, also broadcasts on FM.

Bonnel said a 10 kilowatt transmitter was currently in use and there were plans to boost the station's signal with the addition of another 10 kilowatt transmitter.

The station promised a varied programme format, featuring news from the CARIBBEAN NEWS AGENCY and major international shortwave broadcasters such as the Voice of America, Radio France International, and Swiss Radio International. There will also be features on science, sports, the arts, the economy, and a wide range of music from all over the globe.

Eighty five percent of the broadcasts will be in English, with the remaining 15 percent in Patois, a dialect spoken in St. Lucia, Dominica, and the French Caribbean islands.

Dominica

Investment, Trade Mission Ends Visit to Canada

FL2911024590 Bridgetown CANA in English 0210 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Toronto, Nov 29, CANA—A six-member Dominican investment and trade mission on Wednesday ended the Canadian leg of a North American tour with plans for "positive follow-up action in several areas," a spokesman said.

The mission, led by Charles Maynard, Dominica's minister of industry, trade and tourism, arrived here on Sunday seeking to attract investments in areas such as hotel development, light manufacturing, and agro-processing.

"In its development thrust, Dominica is seeking to diversify its economy," Maynard told CANA in an interview. "In so doing, we are seeking business partners in North America to join in planning and establishing projects which will be mutually beneficial."

The mission had discussions with a range of Canadian business leaders and there has been "serious interest" in venture capital and financing for some projects, he said.

Maynard reported that one group of investors here had discussed the establishment of a brewery in Dominica.

Discussing tourism development, Maynard said Dominica, with its unspoiled natural resources, stood to benefit from the current trend in international travel towards nature tours. He said the government of Dominica was encouraging the development of small-to-medium size hotels as well as travel-related businesses.

The Dominican tourism minister is also hoping to have discussions with senior officials of American Airlines on his currrent tour. "We have been talking with American Airlines for some time now about coming in to Dominica. So we intend to pursue that matter in New York," he explained.

Before leaving for New York, members of the mission met dealers in agricultural produce and cut flowers. Maynard said the mission, organized by the government of Dominica, would be responding to many serious inquiries here "with positive follow-up action."

After visiting New York, the mission will travel to Washington and Miami.

Represented on the mission are Dominica's National Development Corporation, the Dominica Manufacturers Association, the Dominica Association of Industry and Commerce, and the Dominica Export/Import Agency.

Dominican Republic

* Energy Shortages Affect Business, Industry

* Supermarket Foods Spoil

91CA0019A Santo Domingo EL SIGLO in Spanish 2 Oct 90 p 8

[Text] Only three months ago, power failures were terrifying supermarket owners, but at that time they had the alternative of having recourse to the so-called emergency plan. Now the terror facing these establishments in the capital city has doubled, because of the lack of fuel for the generators, which is almost forcing them to shut down.

Managing to obtain gas oil and gasoline is not easy for the supermarkets, since the service stations are only willing to sell it to individuals who drive up in their vehicles, so that these businesses are prevented from keeping up their reserves.

The situation in recent days has caused various supermarkets in this city to lose thousands of pesos when large quantities of meat, milk, and sausage spoiled because of the intermittent operation of the refrigerators. This was caused by the almost constant failures in the service provided to the population by the Dominican Electricity Company (CDE).

Reporters for this daily newspaper who visited a number of these establishments found that they depend on two emergency plants, which must operate alternately day and night in order to keep these businesses open to the public.

The Casa Perez Supermarket opposite Independence Park has been receiving only two hours of service, forcing it to keep its own units in constant operation.

Mrs. Carmen Chavez, the manager of the supermarket, said that the most serious aspect of the problem of obtaining energy is not the inadequate service provided by the state corporation, but the fact that there is no fuel for the emergency plants.

"We have plants, but you know that there is no gas oil, and if a plant shuts down, we have to close," she said, after stressing the fact that a supermarket cannot operate without electricity.

She said that even the cash registers need power, although to alleviate the situation, battery-operated machines have been put into use.

"As you can imagine, we have had to reduce our orders for sausages, meat, and milk. Our freezers are empty, and we cannot keep many products on hand," she explained.

She said that her business needs at least 50 gallons of gas oil per day, "and you know it is not easy to get it, with the shortage."

Meanwhile, Juan Cocco, the manager of the Wilson Supermarket located on Paris Street, says that when the area is provided with two hours of electricity in a given day, "we give thanks to God."

He said that last Saturday alone, 100 pounds of meat spoiled at his business establishment because the plant was not equal to the task of keeping the refrigerators operating at the necessary temperature, and there was no CDE service for a whole day and a night.

"The situation with this crisis is a disaster for a business like ours. The goods which require refrigeration are spoiling. In addition, we need energy to operate the slicers and the endless array of butchering equipment," he said.

One of the supermarket plants is a 2.5-k unit, and the other is a 4-k unit. "But this does not even give us enough power to operate the butchering equipment. In other words, if we had relied on the CDE service, we would have had to shut down long ago," he added.

But the lack of fuel is worrying Cocco as well. He says that with the shortage in these recent weeks, he has needed ingenuity in order to obtain gasoline, since it is not sold to people in containers, but only to vehicles, after they have waited in a long line.

The same situation prevails at the National Supermarket on Mella Avenue, where the employees with whom we talked said that electrical service is not available at any time of day. As a result, they have to operate on the basis of their emergency plants. "But the most serious thing of all is the shortage of gas oil."

* Bakeries Close

91CA0019B Santo Domingo EL NACIONAL in Spanish 18 Oct 90 p 4

[Article by Junio Lora]

[Excerpts] Bread is missing today from the tables of many Dominican citizens because there are shortages of energy, flour, gas oil, and sugar.

And at the same time, thousands of bakery workers throughout the country are unemployed, Domingo Capellan, acting president of the National Association of Flour Industry Operators, reported. He announced that 272 member bakeries have closed since yesterday afternoon. [passage omitted]

After stating that Pan Pepin supplies 15 percent of the consumers in the National District, Capellan said that the members of the association include the largest baking companies all over the country, including Carbonell, Nota, and El Millon in the capital, and Panificadora del Norte, Reyes, and Cibao, in Santiago. [passage omitted]

He explained that the 274 bakeries which were shut down yesterday had been producing only 20 percent of their normal volume of bread.

"This situation has been causing our members serious losses, due to the fact that a large part of the personnel had nothing to do," he said.

He indicated that "this is the most acute crisis ever experienced by the flour industry." He added that Pan Pepin "carried on for more than 15 days, continuing to pay wages to the employees, who were not producing."

He stated that the cracker factory the enterprise has in the Herrera industrial zone has been shut down for 21 days for lack of gas oil and flour. [passage omitted]

The president of the Union of Small and Average Flour Industries (UMPIH) has charged that there is a black market on which a sack of spring-wheat flour costs 600 pesos. [passage omitted]

The UMPIH has some 1,800 member bakeries, the majority of them small. About 85 percent of them have been shut down due to the shortage of flour, gas oil, and electricity.

Rosales said that UMPIH officials were planning to send a letter to the secretary of industry and trade, Dr. Arturo Martinez Moya, today, asking him to serve as a coordinator for an urgent meeting to resolve the crisis.

The administrator of the Dominican Electricity Corporation, the Price Control director, the Mills administrator, the director of the INESPRE [National Institute of Price Stabilization], and the governor of the Central

Bank would be asked to attend this meeting, in their capacity as providers of energy, flour, and sugar.

* Cibao Paralyzed

91CA0019C Santo Domingo EL SIGLO in Spanish 3 Oct 90 p 1

[Article by Anselmo Silverio]

[Text] Santiago—The president of the Association of Industrialists in the North Region (AIREN), Engineer Felix Garcia, has announced that the industrial park in this zone, which produces an average of 50,000 tons of foodstuffs and other products per month, is inoperative to the extent of 35 percent because of the energy crisis and the shortage of fuels.

Felix Garcia warned that the entire local industrial sector will cease operation this week "if the authorities fail to understand the need which exists to keep production going."

The AIREN official said that the crisis in both the electrical energy and fuel sectors is putting the country in a difficult situation which has no precedent in Dominican history.

He said that the industries still operating are making visible efforts to avoid a total shutdown, "but we are being pushed toward forced closings."

Garcia believes that since the country is having problems due to the electricity shortage, it is necessary and urgent that the authorities resolve the problem of gas oil and gasoline supplies.

According to this industrial leader's reports, a half of the factories in the Santiago free industrial zone are having production problems due to the lack of electrical energy and fuels.

The situation is especially worrisome and notable in this sector, Garcia warned, because the free-zone industries are the focus of a greater concentration of manpower. The industries affected include factories producing sausages, footwear, textiles, cheeses, sweets, vinegar, seasonings, ice cream, canned vegetables, pasta, tomato paste, various dairy products, metal mechanical and construction goods, containers, liquors, soaps, chocolates, and butter.

* Ice Plants Close

91CA0019D Santo Domingo EL NACIONAL in Spanish 1 Oct 90 p 5

[Article by Jesus Galan]

[Excerpt] Our ice plants are semiparalyzed because of the energy crisis and the shortage of fuels needed to operate the emergency plants which process this product.

Also, as is the case with other products which are in short supply, a wave of speculation has developed among the distributors who sell ice to street vendors, restaurants, and other businesses which make and sell cold drinks.

Another factor which has contributed to making the ice crisis more acute is the excessive demand resulting from the semiparalysis of some plants, since their customers have turned to the plants which are still operating.

Street vendors are selling ice at 27 pesos per block to the distributors who operate from trucks. They sell it at 55 to 60 pesos per block.

During a tour of various ice plants this morning, long lines of street vendors, representatives of restaurants, and other establishments waiting to buy ice were observed.

Mr. Danilo Troncoso, owner of the Alaska Ice Plant, said in explaining the situation that the ice plants are experiencing a difficult situation which is being aggravated by the shortage of gas oil.

He emphasized that ice plants represent the industrial facilities most seriously affected by power failures, because even though some have emergency plants, they are only intended for that—emergency use.

"When lengthy blackouts occur, what we must do immediately is to shut down the plants so that they will not be damaged, and right away, the product begins to melt," he emphasized.

He noted that the raw materials for ice are water and electricity, and when either one is lacking, the full effect is felt by the plants.

As to the prevailing ice crisis, Troncoso attributed it to excessive demand, since the plants which are operating have to take care of the customers of those which are shut down.

"The heat and the power failures also tend to reduce production, but the crisis in the ice sector is due basically to the fact that some factories have had to shut down, because their electrical plants have been damaged, and with no energy available from the CDE [Dominican Electricity Corporation], they have ceased to produce," he stressed. [passage omitted]

* Government Threatened

91CA0019E Santo Domingo EL NACIONAL in Spanish 4 Oct 90 p 4

[Article by Cristian Jimenez]

[Text] Economist Roberto Saladin warned today that the country may be paralyzed by next week for lack of fuel, and he warned that if the present crisis is not dealt with within a month, "We will lose a constitutional government."

Saladin, a former governor of the Central Bank, suggested that the government use Reserve Bank dollars taken from consular accounts and the monthly contribution from Falconbridge, which he estimated at $6 million at present, to purchase fuels.

He said that it is urgent that these funds, which he calculated at about $20 million or $30 million, taken together, be sold to the Central Bank for the purchase of fuels.

In Saladin's opinion, it is the government and the Central Bank which are responsible for the shortage of dollars, and as a result, for the shortage of fuel. Responsibility extends to the Monetary Council, he said, since it obeys the directives of the president of the Republic, with the exception of journalist Miguel Guerrero.

"If this situation is not corrected within a month, there will be a national tragedy, even though the political parties and the Armed Forces do not want it. We will lose a constitutional government," he warned.

Saladin, who was interviewed on the "Foreground" segment of the program "One + One" on Tele Antillas, said that one of the basic problems is the lack of dollar the flow to the Central Bank resulting from the erroneous policies pursued by the authorities.

He also said that there is a violent exodus of capital being sent out of the country by people who want to protect their money.

He noted that in August, inflation was at 14 percent, the highest level for a single month in the history of the country, although it had been only five percent the preceding month.

He said that according to estimates, inflation will reach 80 percent, and is increasing.

As a possible solution to the situation, Saladin spoke of an agreement with the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

"The fact is that this situation is unmanageable. The Central Bank is only taking in $2.5 million daily, and the needs of the government cannot possibly be satisfied with this amount," he indicated.

Concerning a possible agreement with an international body, he explained that this would be the only way of ensuring that the government disciplines itself.

"This government will not, on its own, discipline itself. It is a personalistic government which does not listen to technicians, and no government councils are held," he emphasized.

In answer to a question about the constraints an agreement with the IMF might cause, he said that "nothing could be more cruel and inhuman than these government errors."

He stated that even trade unionists should recommend to the government that it establish such agreements.

We urgently need to pursue this path, he said, and if we do not, we will be moving toward the dissolution of the Dominican state.

Saladin said that this government has been forced to its knees, and "out of fear of complicity, no one has come to its aid."

Haiti

CEP in Financial Difficulty Before Elections

FL2811164590 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Officials of the Provisional Electoral Council [CEP] are confident that the elections will actually take place on 16 December. Less than 19 days before the first ballot of the elections, however, the CEP finds itself financially cornered. Marc Antoine Noel, director general of the CEP, asserts that the Trouillot government has guaranteed that the necessary funds will be released on time so that the electoral process can unfold without problems. [passage omitted]

When asked about the Manigat case that will be brought before the Court of Cassation, Noel stated that the institution [CEP] is focused on one task: directing the electoral process, and that the Manigat case has not yet been considered. [passage omitted]

Issues Request for Delegate Lists

FL2811163590 Port-au-Prince Radio Haiti-Inter in Creole 2100 GMT 27 Nov 990

[Text] The Provisional Electoral Council [CEP] reminds the political parties and groups, as well as cartels and candidates, to urgently send their lists of appointed delegates to the Departmental Electoral Bureau. [BED] In accordance with Article 28 of the Electoral Law, the BED will provide the delegates with an identification card authorizing them to control the electoral operations in a specific Voting and Registration Bureau [BIV]. They must specify to the BED, in each case, which BIV is concerned. In addition, the Provisional Electoral Council also advises that each political party, group, and cartel can have only one delegate.

Article 28 of the Electoral Law also provides that the absence of delegates cannot cause the cancellation of voting operations. The CEP stresses the importance of the role that the appointed delegates must play on election day. They are the only authorized persons to represent the parties and maintain their integrity. The CEP has prepared a memo with specific directions on the activities parties must assume on 16 December.

Accreditation Service Issues Card Guidelines

FL2811204590 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 28 Nov

[Excerpts] The Accreditation Service for observers, journalists, and representatives of the newspapers notes that the accreditation cards given by the Provisional Electoral Council [CEP] are not being used in accordance with the CEP recommendations. [passage omitted]

These cards are to be used only on the occasion of meetings and demonstrations organized within the context of the electoral process. [passage omitted] The CEP advises that it will withdraw these cards from any and all persons who are discovered using them for personal reasons unrelated to the electoral process, and sanctions provided by the electoral law will be applied, effective from the date of publication date of this note signed by Jean-Francis Merisier. [passage omitted]

Aristide Must Choose: Priesthood or Politics

FL2811170090 Bonaire Trans World Radio in English 1130 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Presidential candidate Jean-Bertrand Aristide must choose between the priesthood and politics. Haiti's Episcopal Conference appealed to Mr. Aristide yesterday saying that according to Canon Law, a priest is not allowed to hold political functions. Mr. Aristide is one of the leading political candidates campaigning for the upcoming December 16 election in Haiti and is most popular in the poorer areas.

Campaigning Intensifies Throughout Country

FL2811195890 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Three weeks before the date set for the elections, the political leaders are intensifying their trips throughout the country. All or almost all the candidates are campaigning in the provinces.

De Ronceray Campaigns in La Gonave

FL2811201090 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 Gmt 27 Nov 90

[Text] Hubert de Ronceray, leader of The Mobilization for National Development [MDN], campaigned in La Gonave [West Department] over the weekend. Decorated cars and motorcycles made up the procession waiting at the wharf for the MDN president and his supporters. De Ronceray walked along the main street of Anse-a-Galets where the population gave him an exceptional reception, according to MDN's report. De Ronceray visited several localities during his tour of La Gonave. Hubert de Ronceray was scheduled to visit the lower part of Artibonite today.

Aristide Welcomed in Cap-Haitien

FL2811202090 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Excerpt] According to a dispatch from the France Press Agency [AFP], about 60,000 people offered a warm, triumphant welcome to Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide Sunday in Cap-Haitien. Father Aristide is the presidential candidate of the National Front for Change and Democracy [FNCD].

The throng that escorted the priest during this trip to Cap-Haitien consisted mostly of young people and inhabitants of the residential areas. No incidents were reported. Soldiers from the local garrison provided protection for Father Aristide who organized a meeting in the center of Cap-Haitien. [passage omitted]

Police Ban Firecrackers

FL2811203090 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] The police forbade firecrackers or any device of an explosive nature until the end of the electoral period. A communique issued by the military department of the metropolitan area exhorts the population of the capital and its surroundings to avoid firecrackers or any other explosive device until the end of the elections. Instructions have been given to the police stations to prosecute anyone disturbing the public peace in this way.

Jamaica

'Gang of Five' Ousted, Samuda Sues Seaga

FL2811184090 Bridgetown CANA in English 1800 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, Nov. 28, CANA—Expelled members of the opposition Jamaica Labour Party [JLP] on Wednesday were pondering their political future. On Tuesday the party expelled three of its prominent members who were involved in a public quarrel with leader Edward Seaga.

They are member of Parliament, Karl Samuda, member of a group referred to as "The Gang of Five;" Senator Joan Gordon-Webley, who was also fired by Seaga as executive secretary of the Caribbean Democrat Union; and former member of Parliament, Earl Spencer.

The Gang of Five comprises Samuda, Pearnel Charles, Errol Anderson, Edmund Bartlett, and Douglas Vaz. The Gang of Five was accused by Seaga of trying to oust him as party leader. In turn, Samuda accused the party leader of bugging private telephone conversations of several high ranking party officials while they were in government. The differences erupted into a public quarrel with Samuda suing Seaga for slander over statements he made during a public meeting in Kingston.

The JLP in a statement said that the three it expelled had been found guilty by the party's disciplinary committee of actions "calculated to bring the party into disrepute." The party also suspended Errol Stephenson, an executive member of Young Jamaica, for three years.

The three, accompanied by their lawyers, attended the hearing by the disciplinary committee.

Salinas Comments on Bush Visit, Trade Agreement

PA2911042290 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1911 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Mexico City, 28 Nov (NOTIMEX)—President Carlos Salinas de Gortari announced today that Mexico will not change the constitutional articles that deal with state property and control of its petroleum resources.

"That is the decision of the Mexican people and my conviction as president of the republic," he said upon giving out the national award on quality during the Second International Congress on Total Quality."

The topic of oil, he said, was broached by the Mexican president with U.S. President George Bush "to reiterate what had already been said in my second state-of-the-nation speech.

We will not modify the constitutional article that establishes state property and control of petroleum," he said.

During President Bush's two-day visit to Mexico, which ended yesterday, "we took one more step toward achieving and implementing an agreement on free trade," Salinas de Gortari told businessmen meeting in a hotel in this city.

It will not be easy to secure this free trade agreement, because there are sectors in the United States that oppose it; however, "a majority favors it." Both countries reiterated with determination their commitment to promote the treaty yesterday.

He said that the agreement involves only the negotiation of assets and services, "as was determined" and not aspects unrelated to trade.

President Bush's visit to Mexico, he said, took place in a cordial climate. This did not, however, prevent clear-cut talks.

On the contrary, he said, conditions were such that we could clearly set our principles, and President Bush ratified his willingness to strengthen our relations and only discussed topics that were included in the agenda.

The positive climate in the dialogue, he said, will allow for the new relations between Mexico and the United States to lead to direct benefits for all Mexicans.

He pointed to the strengthening of trade, the best cooperation in the fight against drug trafficking, a greater flow of financial resources for investment, and improvement in the environment.

There will also be protection for undocumented Mexican workers, educational and cultural exchanges, and an overall dialogue on relations with Central America, as well as with Latin America in general.

Most importantly, he pointed out, the agreement will allow for the creation of more jobs and the possibility of greater access to the biggest market in the world today.

In 1992, Europe will have established what is expected to become the biggest market in the world, provided that the countries in this region of the American continent—Mexico, the United States, and Canada—do not constitute a free trade market.

"We would like, however, the free trade agreement in North America to become a reality so that it can allow for the creation of a huge trade area promoting competition and forcing our producers to increase efficiency, productivity, and overall quality." [passage omitted]

* Presidential Succession Mechanism Examined

91CA0014A Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish No 724, 17 Sep 90 pp 13-14, 16-17

[Article by Gerardo Galarza; for earlier reporting on candidate selection process, see JPRS LATIN AMERICA REPORT of 8 Sep 87]

[Text] It is the last stage in the uncovering of the *destape* [unveiling of the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] candidate].

Or, as Daniel Cosio Villegas would say, now, just as in the case of the *tapado* [yet-to-be-announced PRI candidate] every six years, the last shred of cover has slipped from the *destape*.

Let us do away with euphemisms, speculation and certain predictions, accounts of privileged witnesses, but always second-hand. Let everyone know what everyone always has known:

"Tradition in Mexico has it that the chief of state chooses his successor," Luis Echeverria Alvarez (LEA), former president of Mexico, categorically states.

"It was very difficult for me to decide on Jose Lopez Portillo (JLP)," he added in an interview at the Mexico City Airport.

Nothing has been as categorical as Echeverria's statement. Not one of the direct participants has been so forthright. Even the man who, in his constant interruptions of his ex-presidential silence, has been a main player in the *destape* of the *destape*, was not forthright. Even when two former presidents, Miguel Aleman Valdes and Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, made statements along those lines, they were careful to omit any explicit reference to their own experience.

To date, there have always been the transparent veils of second-hand accounts, such disguises as "a highly private meeting," "I personally told him of the resolution," "in accordance with custom," "the party entrusted the procedure to me," followed by the paraphernalia of the support of the three sectors of the party, the result of a profound evaluation. Never: "I decided" or "I named him" or "I chose him." There are always accounts from witnesses and presidential confidentes, real or supposed.

Even contradictions between the protagonists (LEA and JLP, the only former presidents who have given oral and written accounts).

The history of the unveiling of the *destape* is filled with anecdotes, some amusing, others cynical. Beyond the chronology of revelations, the history, six year period by six year period, is as follows:

Miguel Aleman Velasco, son of the president, revealed how his father, Miguel Aleman Valdes, was appointed successor to Manuel Avila Camacho and how Aleman Valdes named Adolfo Ruiz Cortines in turn. A witness and privileged confidant, Aleman Velasco stated that his father was the first president to decide upon the succession by himself.

Aleman Velasco's account is contained in the fictionalized autobiography "Copilli," the keys to which he made public in May 1981 in an interview with PROCESO. In that work, Avila Camacho is Montezuma Ilhuicamina, Aleman Valdes is Axayacatl, and Ruiz Cortines is Montezuma II. He writes: "Montezuma (Ilhuicamina) fell gravely ill. He understood the end of his days was near...and called the main personages of his kingdom to where he lay dying. When they had gathered together to hear his words, Montezuma asked the four electors to choose Prince Axayacatl."

The next succession, Aleman-Ruiz Cortines, went as follows: "When the time came, your father, on the highest step of Huitzilopochtli Temple, facing the altar to the idol and before a flaming hearth, threw in laurel branches, offering them up as a sacrifice.... Soon something like the buzz of thousands of locusts was heard coming from Tamoanchan: Montezuma (II), Montezuma...." 'Montezuma,' your astonished father wondered, but then his brain cleared. Naturally, the right person to govern is without question Montezuma. A day must be chosen to tell the people, but first Montezuma and, out of courtesy, the great *huey tecuhtlis* and the head of the armies must be told. The selection was communicated to the three branches so that it might be passed on to the people."

In December 1974, Aleman Valdes said that "the president of the republic, as head of national policy, will be the person to decide who will succeed him, inasmuch as it is he who can project and receive currents of opinion from the various sectors of the country." But he was speaking precisely of Echeverria, of what he would do, not what he did.

There is another story of how the appointment of Ruiz Cortines was learned, and it is told by Cosio Villegas in one of his essays on the Mexican political system:

One fine September day in 1951, Rodolfo Sanchez Taboasda, then leader of the PRI, summoned his aides and close friends to Tampico restaurant to await the great revelation, which would come from Los Pinos [official presidential residence]. After several hours of waiting and several fruitless calls, the secret had still not been revealed. Another call and Sanchez Taboada's anger: "Now it turns out that even old Ruiz Cortines wants to be president!" When he heard the old man's name, he said, "Fine, now let's get to work."

Ruiz Cortines toyed with his aides over the succession. An inveterate gambler, he played with it. There are at least three different versions and a single real "unveiled": Adolfo Lopez Mateos.

It has been known since 1974 that on one occasion, he interviewed Agustin Olachea, leader of the PRI, in order to ask who he thought sounded like possible *tapados* [yet-to-be-announced PRI candidates]. Olachea enumerated and Ruiz Cortines commented: Angel Carvajal: "He is our fellow countryman, we love him a great deal, and we know him. We will not analyze him because we know him very well." Gilberto Flores Munoz: "Good grief! A rooster with a very hard spur. A very close friend, very hard-working!" Ignacio Morones Prieto: "Honest as Juarez, austere as Juarez, patriotic as Juarez!" Ernesto Uruchurtu: "What a good president he would be the first 18 years!" Ruiz Cortines asked if he "did not like" Lopez Mateos. Olachea answered: "He is very soft." At any rate, Ruiz Cortines asked him to investigate whether he was a Protestant. Olachea came out convinced that Morones Prieto would be the one chosen and returned with the result of the investigation into Lopez Mateos. Ruiz Cortines refused to listen and, upon hearing the name of the man who would be his successor, said, "Stop right there, General. That's the one."

Ruiz Cortines played with Flores Munoz and Antonio Carrillo Flores. One day in a meeting with the former, he had Secretary of Finance Carrillo Flores summoned in order to instruct him that all documents and papers of the Office of Secretary of Agriculture be "clean" and inform him that "that 'chicken' has to be clean for what is ahead." Carrillo Flores thought the person chosen would be the "chicken" Flores Munoz. The latter recalled in 1975 that a day before the *dedazo* [practice of candidate selection "from above"] was made known, he told President Ruiz Cortines that he already knew the person chosen would be Lopez Mateos. A player to the end, the president answered: "That is what they are going around saying, chickie. That is what they are saying."

Ruiz Cortines receives credit for the phrase uttered in September 1969 to the effect that the president in power has "the enormous responsibility for interpreting what our people want and need."

Lopez Mateos never gave his direct version of the unveiling of his successor. There are at least three. The first maintains that, far from the highly private meeting, one day Lopez Mateos met with Gustavo Diaz Ordaz in his home and told him point-blank: "My friend, it's your turn...to put up with it. You will be the PRI candidate for the presidency of the republic."

The second expanded the number of listeners. At a dinner with the entire Cabinet held for the precise purpose of commemorating his own unveiling, incidents were recalled during the after-dinner chat and the name of the bus line used for the campaign came up. Lopez Mateos then said, "Well, recommend it to Gustavo here."

The other was told to reporter Elias Chavez of this weekly in 1983. Manuel Moreno Sanchez, leader of the Chamber of Senators during that six year period and a friend and confidente of Lopez Mateos:

"The president stopped in the middle of the garden, preoccupied. He looked up at the sky and told his companion and friend: "You know what? Last night I couldn't sleep." "In other words, you decided," interpreted his friend and leader of the Senate. "Yes."

There was a feeling of warmth in the cold morning air, but the Senate leader said only, "Good." "I promised you would be the first to know." "Fine...." "It is Diaz Ordaz."

Diaz Ordaz revealed Echeverria in the following way: Very early on Monday, 20 October, Diaz Ordaz met with Alfonso Martinez Dominguez, leader of the PRI, and the leaders of the three sectors: Augusto Gomez Villanueva (CNC [National Peasant Confederation]), Fidel Velazquez (CTM [Confederation of Mexican Workers]), and Renaldo Guzman (CNOP [National Confederation of Popular Organizations]), to whom he said: "Gentlemen, I know you have made a thorough evaluation that greatly favors Luis Echeverria. I congratulate you. Call him immediately and wage a good campaign. That is all." Later, when alone, he told Martinez Dominguez: "Please notify all secretaries of state and department heads. I will not do it. I do not want what happened to Lopez Mateos to happen to me. I do not want anger, reproaches, or tears." Much later, in the close circle of now former president Diaz Ordaz, it was said that every morning when the latter got out of bed and looked at himself in the mirror, he would insult himself for the decision he had made!

Eyewitness Gomez Villanueva tells the same story in 1983, although he puts the following words in the mouth of Diaz Ordaz: "I know you are Luis Echeverria's friends and it gives me great satisfaction that he will be our candidate for the presidency."

In an interview for television in November 1970, Diaz Ordaz said Echeverria's nomination came from within the party and "was due to the strong currents that were obviously, evidently, manifesting themselves in the ranks of the PRI...."

So far, the uncovering of the *destape* had always been done through the accounts of witnesses, privileged to be sure, but never the real protagonists. That the president of Mexico should choose his successor was a known fact throughout the country and the world. National and foreign academicians had demonstrated it and done relenting analyses, but the exposure was not total. Joaquin Cisneros, Diaz Ordaz' private secretary, had stated: "It is a known fact that in our system, the president and only he resolves the matter of the succession. It is a secret with voices. We keep it quiet and also shout it."

Another private presidential secretary, Roberto Casillas, who held that post during Lopez Portillo's term, said: "The great elector of his successor is without a doubt the president himself." But the president he served publicly and privately reproached him: "Why did you have to get involved in that row?" Lopez Portillo asked this, while still trying to keep up appearances.

The naming of Jose Lopez Portillo by his friend Luis Echeverria is what removes all veils from the *destape*, despite Echeverria's contradictions of himself and his successor. Both, involved in tne mess, tried in vain to rescue the cornerstone of the system, contradicted themselves, lied in public, and became enemies. Echeverria became completely cynical. His statements are in the press and in books he dictated: "Echeverria Breaks the Silence" and "Echeverria During the Six Year Term of Lopez Portillo." Both were long interviews with Luis Suarez. Lopez Portillo also made statements to the press and included them in his memoirs, "My Time."

In April 1981, when speculation over the succession of Lopez Portillo had reached its peak, Echeverria broke his silence for the umpteenth time in a series of 60 articles in EL UNIVERSAL. He said: Lopez Portillo "learned during the early days of June (1975) who the next chief of state would be. I personally informed him of the decision in a highly private meeting."

In other words, former President Echeverria was admitting the lies and deceptions perpetrated by President Echeverria. Such as the one on 21 September 1975, a day before the unveiling when, at a press conference in Toluca, he categorically stated: "In Mexico, those who decide are the great majorities." Some 24 hours later he was playing dumb and saying "Thank you for the news" when the CTM revealed his classmate.

In those articles in the press, Echeverria states: "I had no doubt, when the time came, about who my successor would be.... But I did have a secret that I jealously guarded and which I revealed to the person in question just four months before it was publicly announced who the new president would be." Further, during his six year term, in the face of mounting evidence of a semi-official attempt to modernize the *dedazo*, seven precandidates were revealed. It was something the PRI was going to make official before Miguel de la Madrid took office, when suddenly "six distinguished PRIists" emerged for whom a way was offered so they might be publicly exhibited.

At about that time, Lopez Portillo was trying to quench the fire of futurism being fueled by his private secretary and his predecessor. He stated publicly that the succession was decided "within the party, by the action of the

president, not acting in that capacity, but as a qualified member of the party and issuing, along with party officials, his opinion and making the decision within the party. It is the party and not the president who names the candidate." A skillful speaker, Lopez Portillo had to draft the theory of "faithful to the balance."

Later, Lopez Portillo would also recount that highly private meeting. In "My Time" he writes:

"On 17 September (not June 1975), I was summoned to Los Pinos. I actually had very few meetings with Echeverria, although I did attend frequent group meetings at which the president made decisions." JLP continues:

"On that 17 September, the sun was shining in anticipation of the luminous October days in our valley. I had a presentiment of why I was being summoned, so that I appreciated the sunlight, the color of the plants and flowers at Los Pinos differently, going toward the residence and thinking, or rather, imagining that the time would come when my steps would take that same path differently and thus be different. They would resound in those transitory spheres where one president would leave so that another might enter.

"Echeverria was in a good mood and we had on the table a brief agreement on public business and a number of provisions on the budget and the Federal Revenue Bill. Later he asked me to be seated in one of those heavy colonial-style armchairs facing the flag cabinet and suddenly, even unexpectedly, he said something like this: 'Mr. Lopez Portillo, the party has instructed me to ask whether you will accept responsibility for all this,' with a gesture taking in the whole Executive Branch concentrated there in the Los Pinos office."

"Yes, Mr. President, I do accept."

"Very well. Then get ready, but tell no one, not even your wife or your children. We shall call you when the party completes its organization and when the different sectors come out publicly."

Based on what he has written, Lopez Portillo believed Echeverria, that the party had entrusted him with the task. Also based on what he has written, Lopez Portillo wants people to believe the PRI chose Miguel de la Madrid.

In his book, the section devoted to the matter is entitled "The PRI Names Miguel de la Madrid." According to his notes, JLP wrote on 28 September: "Precisely last Friday, the 25th of this month, the PRI named Miguel de la Madrid. As is customary, it entrusted the task to me."

But "the party" is not the PRI, but rather, JLP. He adds: "I summoned Garcia Paniagua directly (Javier, leader of the PRI) and the representatives of the three sectors, as well as the president of the deputies, Luis M. Farias, and the president of the senators, Joaquin Gamboa Pascoe.

"First I spoke with Miguel (de la Madrid) and had breakfast with him to settle the details—at eight in the morning—and at nine talked with Javier Garcia Paniagua. Gloomy, but realistic and resigned, he accepted it as done and proclaimed his loyalty to me. Then we spoke formally with the different sectors: Fidel Velazquez (Humberto), Lugo Gil and (Victor) Cervera Pacheco. I introduced Miguel and left them to settle things. Then I took Miguel with Luis Farias and Joaquin Gamboa and went on a Caribbean and Gulf cruise with the Mexican Navy until Sunday night."

But times have changed, they say, because at its 14th National Assembly, the PRI has decided that in the future it will be a National Political Council that will choose its candidate for the presidency, although former President Luis Echeverria, formerly the "born" leader of the PRI, says that "tradition in Mexico has it that the acting chief of state chooses his successor. It was very difficult for me to decide on Jose Lopez Portillo."

Costa Rica

President Calls for National Dialogue in January

PA2811201490 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2130 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Text] San Jose, 24 Nov (EFE)—Referring to the country's socioeconomic situation, Costa Rican President Rafael Calderon today called on all the country's sectors to hold a national dialogue to prevent "the explosion of the powder keg on top of which we are sitting."

After six months in office, Calderon reiterated at a public event his position that "dialogue and consensus" must be sought in view of the country's grave fiscal and social problems.

The president called for a national dialogue to be held in the beginning of January with the participation of delegates from government, businesses, trade unions, cooperatives, community organizations, political parties, and the Catholic Church.

According to observers, all the sectors are willing to attend the meeting even though their views are different.

For example, the workers who have suffered a substantial drop in their purchasing power—because of the severe economic adjustment decreed by Calderon—want the discussions to include, among other topics, the reorganization of the state, the pension system, and tax policies.

The president is proposing a more general dialogue on the economic policy, the social situation, and the reduction of the fiscal deficit.

The Catholic Church, represented by Archbishop Roman Arrieta, has criticized the economic adjustment, saying that "it does not make those who have more give more; instead, it condemns the poor to misery."

The national dialogue's agenda will be drawn up by delegates from each organization beginning on 1 December.

Calderon insisted that "the sacrifice" will be for a few years and that "things will noticeably improve shortly thereafter."

Asylum Granted to Cuban Doctors in Nicaragua

PA2811180590 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1640 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] San Jose, 28 Nov (DPA)—Government Minister Luis Fishman announced in San Jose today that Costa Rica will grant political asylum to the two Cuban doctors who took refuge in the Costa Rican Embassy in Nicaragua on 23 November.

Asylum was granted to 29-year-old Dr. Mario Antonio Reyes, and 30-year-old Gilberto Marcelino Perez. It was indicated that they had both been staying at the Costa Rican embassy in Managua "as guests with diplomatic protection."

Fishman indicated in San Jose that the Immigration Department has granted them 30-day tourist visas, and the Government Ministry promised to grant them political asylum.

The two Cuban doctors arrived in Nicaragua in 1985 as members of the Cuban brigades helping the Sandinist government.

The two decided to seek asylum because they did not want to return to Havana.

El Salvador

Government Warns Against FMLN Attack Plans

PA2911014990 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 28 Nov 90 p 68

[Text] The government of President Alfredo Cristiani warned last night against an allegedly somber plan for attacks by the FMLN that seeks to confuse national and international opinion.

The text of the warning states: "The Salvadoran Government refers to the most recent communique issued by the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] wherein, with its usual irresponsibility, it makes a series of absolutely false and biased charges that the government has a plan directed against its various leaders around the country.

"The government firmly rejects the FMLN innuendoes contained in that communique, which obviously seeks to harm the government's prestige and credibility both nationally and internationally.

"In a recently submitted report, the special rapporteur of the UN Human Rights Commission [Pastor Ridruejo] confirmed government efforts in that respect and claimed that the cases cited do not correspond to government policy.

"The government firmly denounces the maneuver of the FMLN, the member groups of which are on the verge of committing actions and crimes to divert national and international attention from the unanimous condemnation of the FMLN's recent 20 November aggression against the Salvadoran people.

"The government denounces the FMLN maneuver intended to direct FMLN activity and to carry out attacks and condemnable crimes. This FMLN position serves to demonstrate its inability to justify its negative conduct against the peace process to which the government is firmly committed. The guerrillas' terrorist actions have drastically affected the civilian population.

"The government of El Salvador holds the FMLN responsible, as of this moment, for any terrorist attacks

against Salvadoran personalities. It regrets that the FMLN, instead of creating favorable conditions to achieve progress during the peace talks, is plotting criminal actions that do not contribute toward securing a political solution to the armed conflict."

National Army for Democracy's Bulletin Number 6

PA2811181090 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Bulletin No. 6 issued by the General Staff of the National Army for Democracy in El Salvador on 27 November—read by announcer]

[Text] We hereby report to the nation and the international community the following:

1. In the last 48 hours of combat, our units downed one UH-1M helicopter equipped with electronic machine guns and air-to-surface missiles. The aircraft was shot down in Usulutan Department. This brings to three the number of enemy aircraft downed in the last four days of combat. The attacks on the enemy's positions and movements have continued throughout the nation, including San Salvador.

2. So far, the enemy has sustained over 600 casualties, including at least six officers. Twelve aircraft have been damaged, six garrisons have been the target of our artillery, and nine armored personnel carriers have been destroyed. In addition, dozens of weapons, ammunition, and war materiel have been seized in combat.

3. The national military campaign, "Punish the Antidemocratic Armed Forces," continues throughout the country, particularly against the enemy forces' installations and military facilities.

4. We anticipate gloomy days ahead for the antidemocratic Armed Forces. Our units have been instructed not to let the enemy troops remain in any part of the country.

5. Our leaders and fighters must urge the enemy troops to surrender or abandon the ranks of the antidemocratic Armed Forces. The invading forces must get out of the territories we control. The National Army for Democracy will exist for as long as the antidemocratic Armed Forces exist.

[Signed] General Staff of the National Army for Democracy

[Dated] El Salvador, 27 November 1990.

FMLN Reaffirms Right To Use Missiles

PA2811205290 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1939 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] San Salvador, 28 Nov (NOTIMEX)—The Salvadoran guerrillas reaffirmed today their right to use antiaircraft missiles and threatened that they will attack the military's aviation "without respite until the Air Force planes stop flying, bombing, killing, and destroying."

In a communique given to the press, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) rejected the claim that the use of surface-to-air missiles "jeopardizes the country's political stability," as the government pointed out.

"We are using our military resources against legitimate military targets to accelerate the negotiations while the government is trying by all means to avoid negotiations by responding to military problems with terrorism," the FMLN said.

The guerrillas downed an A-37 fighter bomber on 23 November with a Soviet-made missile and damaged a helicopter gunship in Usulutan Department on 26 November.

According to the FMLN, a 0-2 Cessna plane was shot down on 22 November, but this report was denied by military spokesmen who attributed its crash to mechanical failure.

"We urge Cristiani Alfredo, commander general of the antidemocratic Armed Forces, to treat military problems as military problems and not to respond by killing opposition members," the FMLN said.

The rebels said that five years ago they began "the patient process of preparing all types of weapons, ranging from homemade to conventional ones, to defeat the Air Force."

The rebels added that "the Air Force has been a terrorist instrument that has killed thousands of innocent people. Tens of thousands have lost their homes and crops because of artillery fire."

After assuring that the guerrillas are capable of "neutralizing the Air Force," the FMLN warned that "we will not back away from this terrorist instrument of the antidemocratic Armed Forces, which has acted with impunity."

Sandinists Said To Provide Missiles

PA2911032490 San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 28 Nov 90 p 2

[Text] The Salvadoran Armed Forces have evidence that the Sandinists provided SAM-14 missiles to the FMLN-FDR [Farabundo Marti-Revolutionary Democratic Front] terrorists between 1988 and 1990, and they continue to do so, a top military chief of this country has said.

General Rafael Villamariona, commander of the Salvadoran Air Force, has said that the SAM-7 missiles the terrorists have been using were sent to this country in planes coming from Nicaragua three years ago.

"The SAM-14 missiles, which are more sophisticated, came to Central America in 1988, according to Salvadoran military intelligence records, and they may have entered national territory over the course of this year," the general said.

The military chief showed the two detonators that were picked up by his troops in the vicinity of Santa Elena, Usulutan Department, following the downing of an A-37 plane on 23 November.

Villamariona exempted the government of President Violeta Chamorro from all responsibility, but he blamed the Sandinists and said, "they continue to supply the FMLN-FDR behind the backs of the Nicaraguan Government."

The Air Force commander confirmed the information exclusively provided by EL DIARIO DE HOY on the Soviet missiles, and he added that, according to investigations, so far this year, the FMLN has used about 15 missiles, which were fired at FAS [Salvadoran Air Force] planes, and it was not until 23 November that they succeeded in shooting one down in Usulutan.

If one takes into consideration the cost of the missiles, the FMLN operation has been a costly one because on the open market, the SAM-7 is sold for $25,000 per unit and the SAM-14 is sold for $35,000-$50,000, and they have shot 15 already, Villamariona said.

The military chief showed a map of El Salvador marked with the areas where the FMLN has been using missiles—Usulutan, Morazan, and Chalatenango.

Last week they also fired one against a fighter bomber in northern Chalatenango, but they missed the intended target.

The FAS commander does not rule out the possibility that those firing the missiles are foreigners, mercenaries in the service of the FMLN, or Salvadorans trained in Cuba, because the training is costly and it cannot be delegated to people without experience.

Rebels Attack Mariona Prison in San Salvador

PA2811141990 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSKL in Spanish 1228 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Telephone interview with "a Salvadoran Red Cross member" by unidentified station announcer—live]

[Text] [Announcer] This is a last-minute report on last night's attack by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] against the Mariona Penitentiary. Good morning. Go ahead with the report.

[Red Cross member] Good morning. At approximately 2300 last night, we received a call from an area close to Mariona where the explosions were heard. We continued to receive calls throughout the night. Francisco Rodolfo Garay Pineda, who said he was the director of the Mariona Penitentiary Center, called us to ask us to send men because they had wounded and dead persons. It was impossible to get through until early this morning at about 0530 or 0600. We are now entering the area.

[Announcer] Do you have an approximate number of the casualties in this attack?

[Red Cross member] According to Francisco Rodolfo Garay Pineda, three people were killed and several were wounded. He did not specify how many were wounded.

[Announcer] Do you know if the dead and wounded persons are rebels or members of the penitentiary security personnel?

[Red Cross member] According to Garay Pineda, they were members of the Mariona security personnel.

[Announcer] Did any prisoners escape following the attack?

[Red Cross member] Garay Pineda said he was not certain, because he was calling us from his home. The information he had was based on calls he was receiving from the penitentiary.

[Announcer] Thank you for this last-minute report. We will keep our listeners posted on the attack against the Mariona Penitentiary in northern San Salvador that began late last night and lasted till early this morning .

Nicaragua

Chamorro Creates National Disarmament Commission

PA2911030490 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 1330 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Keeping the promise she made during the Cabinet meeting on 21 November in Juigalpa, Chontales, President Violeta Chamorro signed a decree law yesterday creating the National Disarmament Commission. Chamorro, who signed the decree in the presence of former Costa Rican president Oscar Arias, Nicaraguan Embassy officials, Government Minister Carlos Hurtado and others, appointed former Costa Rican president Oscar Arias, the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize winner, as honorary president of the National Disarmament Commission.

We will now hear the text of the two decrees, read by presidential legal adviser Tomas Elen:

[Begin Elen recording] The president of the Republic of Nicaragua;

Whereas, because of the demobilization of the Nicaraguan Resistance and the end of the war, the citizenry in general has joyfully welcomed the cherished pacification of our country. Whereas, the Government of National Salvation and all citizens are concerned about the existence of weapons in the hands of unauthorized civilians. This has resulted in violent acts. It is absolutely necessary to proceed with the disarmament, recovery, and destruction of said weapons to consolidate the country's definite peace.

Therefore, by the powers bestowed upon her, she has dictated the following decree creating the National Disarmament Commission:

Article 1. The National Disarmament Commission is hereby created and designated as a consultative organ of the Presidency of the Republic. It will act accordingly and be subject to the regulations established by law.

Article 2. The adminstration and representation of the commission will be in the hands of a directory council, which will be composed of the following: the minister of the Presidency or his delegate, who will head the commission; the government minister or his delegate; the commander in chief of the Sandinist People's Army or his delegate; a representative from the demobilized members of the Nicaraguan Resistance; a representative from the Nicaraguan Catholic Church; a representative from other Nicaraguan churches; and a representative from each of the political parties or coalitions of political parties who obtained the first and second place votes in the 25 February 1990 general elections; this representative will be appointed by the National Assembly from the representatives elected to the Assembly. The United Nations and the OAS might also be asked to appoint observers for meetings and to oversee the implementation of the commission's recommendations. There may also be honorary members of the National Disarmament Commission who will be appointed by the president of the Republic according to their moral standing.

Article 3. Regional, departmental, and municipal disarmament commissions will be organized, and their functions and composition will be determined by the regulations. In each of these commissions, however, the area's mayor must be a member.

Article 4. The main duties of the commission will be to study the following problems: civilians who are armed unlawfully, disarming civilians, and disposing of recovered weapons. [end recording]

Humberto Ortega Comments on UNO Demands

PA2811201590 Managua Sistema Nacional de Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Interview with General Humberto Ortega by unidentified reporter in Managua; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Good evening. We will dot the i's and cross the t's with General Humberto Ortega. Gen. Ortega, UNO [National Opposition Union] groups want your dismissal. Do you think that the government will agree to this?

[Ortega] The government presided over by President Violeta Barrios adopted a decision on the issue following the 17 March transition agreements. In fact, all these transition agreements have proven their worth because they have allowed the possibility for a reconciliation despite the problems that still prevail and were much more noticeable in recent months. In addition, they have created the conditions for other agreements, like the national consultation and the creation of the national agrarian commission to solve land problems. In sum, all these efforts will allow us to attain the stability that the country so urgently needs.

[Reporter] What about the UNO groups' request?

[Ortega] The transition agreement clearly stated that the state institutions, including the Armed Forces, must be recognized. We will be contributing toward the achievement of the peace that the people want so much by not destabilizing these institutions. I think that only a minority of these groups is unsatisfied—not with the fact that I am the Army commander but with the fact that a peaceful change has taken place here within the framework of the Constitution.

This supports the democratic achievements that occurred in the past and will be strengthened in the future. Some groups believed that everything concerning revolutionary changes and everything connected with Sandinism would be swept aside with the elections; and these groups have tried to disavow the truth and disavow the institutional process in the country. They have been constantly thinking....[changes thought] demanding the removal of military officers and commanders—as if this were the problem.

[Reporter] They are also demanding the same things from Presidency Minister Antonio Lacayo and Government Minister Carlos Hurtado. Commander, there is not really a direct relation between the reduction of the Army and the military budget. Why?

[Ortega] Yes, there is a direct relation, when viewed from the proper perspective; in other words, the process of reducing the Army is a process that has two large phases. One was the quantitative phase, which consisted of reducing the number of forces that were permanently mobilized at the beginning of the year, in January. This process continued until the Army was reduced to 33,000 permanent members. This process basically involved mobilized troops who were not permanent members of the institution, but did not include officers. Although the mobilization of those troops involved a cost, undoubtedly there is a big difference in relation to professional soldiers or officers. We have now entered a phase in which we will reduce 5,000 officers, which will bring the size of the Army down to 28,000 permanent soldiers.

[Reporter] Will it be the smallest army in Central America?

[Ortega] Yes, it will. Once the process of reducing 5,000 officers is over, we will have the smallest army in Central America. It will be smaller than the Honduran Army, or the Salvadoran Army—which has 55,000 permanent soldiers—and smaller than the Guatemalan Army, which has approximately 60,000 members.

Regarding the impact of the military budget on the economy, we must first see that there is no longer a war. What really created an enormous distortion in our economy was the U.S. blockade on our country and the

disorder caused by the war—particularly in rural areas—which affected production. In addition, there were indirect expenses in connection with the war, such as the lack of investments and so forth from other countries and friendly financial forces...[corrects himself] not friendly, but international forces in general interested in helping Nicaragua. The war created many problems in that regard.

[Reporter] Before the elections you said that the Army would be reduced and with the reduction of the Army its members would be more professional, and therefore it would be necessary to create more universities. What has been done in that regard? What is being done?

[Ortega] Well, we have asked the Spanish Government for advice to strengthen our academic and methodological levels to quickly improve the professionalism of our troops. We have not only requested their advice, but also their cooperation, if possible, to open a military academy here because we currently do not have one.

[Reporter] Commander, in 1980-1981 in an interview for the (?Veremos) magazine you previewed the counterrevolution and how it would evolve. Do you anticipate a civil war at this moment, considering that the Army will be smaller?

[Ortega] Although the Army will be smaller, it will also be more consistent. In other words, it will be more professional, modern, and more capable of meeting the country's defense needs at a smaller cost. As I said before regarding the budget, the savings will be in that the budget will not be increased. Of course, if there is a situation of disorder or war again, the budget will be increased considerably and the country's indirect expenses would also go up as a result of a crisis situation.

[Reporter] Do you anticipate a civil war or not?

[Ortega] I believe that there is no possibility of a civil war as such here. I am sure and I am fully convinced that there is no political force capable of mobilizing a large part of our people to use violence against another part of the population. No one will follow anyone trying to pit one side against the other. There could be some unrest or a crisis such as the one recently created by extremist groups manipulated by Sanchez Herdocia.

We all know that he took advantage of a number of objective problems affecting demobilized members of the Nicaraguan Resistance. We believe that those problems must be solved, and we are making great efforts to solve them. There is still concern about armed civilians. We are trying to persuade all armed civilians to turn in their weapons. We will enforce the law and demand that civilians contribute to these efforts to bring more tranquility to the country.

There are a few opposition minority groups that will never reach agreements and will adopt extremist positions inconsonant with today's world. Those groups could lead to situations such as the blocking of the road to El Rama and other provocations. I am fully convinced, however, that the people, the majority of the people who voted for the UNO [National Opposition Union] ...[changes thought] I must note that the majority of people who voted for the UNO do not want to fight against anyone. They want more jobs, the consolidation of peace, and no more weapons on the streets. That is what they want. They are not thinking about killing their Sandinist neighbor, who may be his cousin, brother, boyfriend, or girlfriend. We cannot divide society between Sandinists who are against UNO members and UNO members who are against the Sandinists. There will be Sandinists and non-Sandinists, which is different. To be against the Sandinists or against the UNO members is something else; that is encouraging hatred and polarization.

[Reporter] Do you anticipate peace?

[Ortega] There is no civil war. There cannot be, because the Army, the police, and other defense and government forces are capable enough of maintaining order here against those who might try to promote civil war. In any event, any group that might try to mobilize large parts of the population and lead them to violence will be subdued. They will be legitimately repressed by the competent authorities, with full support from the Nicaraguan people, Sandinists and non-Sandinists.

Radio Corporacion Reports New 'Censorship'

PA2811223590 Managua Radio Catolica in Spanish 1130 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] A two-day blackout has prevented the broadcasting of Radio Corporacion's newscasts. The INE [National Institute of Energy] has announced, as if being instructed, that maintenance work has begun in the zone where Radio Corporacion's plants are located, thus leaving the radio station without electricty since yesterday. Spokesmen from the radio station have reported to this newscast that this action is a new type of censorship. The INE began working today at 0600, the same time that the Seis En Punto newscast is scheduled to start.

Ex-Costa Rican President Attends Arms Burial

PA2811173390

[Editorial Report] Managua Domestic Service in Spanish at 1705 GMT on 27 November begins live coverage of a ceremony during which the government will bury 10,000 rifles surrendered by the demobilized members of the Nicaraguan Resistance. The special guest at the event is former Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez.

At 1707 GMT Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro begins to speak, saying that "I wish to begin this ceremony by announcing that, as I promised in Juigalpa on 21 November, this afternoon I will be signing a decree creating the National Disarmament Commission. I am

also honored to announce that Dr. Oscar Arias, who is here with us today, has agreed to be the honorary president of this important commission." President Chamorro continues by saying that this is the second time she has presided over such a ceremony and adds that former President Arias has been invited to attend because of his contributions "to peace among the Central American people." The president continues to praise Esquipulas II and Arias. Chamorro concludes her speech at 1712 GMT.

Former President Oscar Arias begins speaking at 1713 GMT. He thanks President Chamorro for her kind words and says that in the past, "sectarianism, stubbornness, and foreign intervention hindered every attempt to create adequate conditions for democratic coexistence in Nicaragua. After the signing and implementation of the Central American peace agreements, however, we had every reason to believe that the new leaders and the Nicaraguan political opposition would responsibly share the duties of economic recovery, reconciliation, and democratic clexistence." Arias continues to praise President Chamorro and thanks her for appointing him honorary president of the National Disarmament Commission. He concludes his speech at 1724 GMT.

Chamorro and Arias then proceed to unveil a plaque to commemorate the event while truck loads of weapons are dropped into previously dug pits and covered with cement. The ceremony ends at 1738 GMT following the playing of the Nicaraguan and Costa Rican national anthems.

* Objectives of National Dialogue Explained

91CA0030A Managua BARRICADA in Spanish
6 Nov 90 p 3

[Commentary by Miguel Gomez]

[Text] Nicaragua needs two inseparable things: bread and peace. This is the point on which the broadest consensus can be found in Nicaragua today, which is not a new discovery. It has been stated and written on innumerable occasions, in editorials, speeches, etc. Why, then, have the country's social and political forces taken so long to put into practice what everyone wants?

Heeding the lessons that can be learned from history regarding the most important factors that have entered into the search for national understanding, we must set forth ideas that will help us progress from talking and signing agreements to executing and preserving these agreements.

Reminder: What Was National Dialogue For?

National dialogue is the key. Nicaragua will have to deal immediately with the economic and social effects of the war, the stabilization process and structural adjustments in the economy, and at the same time, a political stabilization that will bring about progress in the development of institutions that promote the exercise of democracy.

Under national dialogue, Nicaragua should go through three stages: 1) basic understanding, 2) institutional development to strengthen democracy, and 3) follow-up and monitoring.

It is obvious that we just recently emerged from the first stage. That in itself poses the first question and its respective answer: Why has national dialogue been difficult? It has been difficult primarily because throughout our history, and particularly in the last two decades, the social and political forces of our country have been subjected to a severe process in which strengths, actions, and reactions have been put to an extreme test, resulting in major transformations in our society.

From this experience we must derive lessons that are vital to the future development of our historic process. We must take note of the fact that the continuation of this process of testing strength—for the purpose of achieving new social advancement or regression—is not in keeping with the national and international situation. In fact, the continuation of this process creates a climate of instability that hinders solutions, raises costs, and may make us unviable as a social, political, and economic project. Every social sector, political party, or group must avoid these risks and learn just how far it can go as a trade union, as a party, and as a nation, if the intention is to pull the string tighter than it can go.

To lay the foundations for national dialogue, the social forces must refrain from carrying out actions that amount to decisive tests of strength.

One error that is often made, especially in the mass media, is to emphasize that national dialogue is necessary to satisfy international agencies. Although it is true that international agencies are insisting on the dialogue, the fundamental objective in Nicaragua's case is to create the conditions for emerging from the crisis and maintaining social order.

Continuing the tests of strength in a decisive manner by demanding actions that weaken the harmony of the citizenry and by promoting terrorist actions places the entire society at risk and threatens what we have achieved so far. We Nicaraguans urgently need to confront our historic challenge together, without further delay: We must overcome the economic crisis and commit ourselves to development.

Analysis of the country's situation should help us realize that radical alternatives are not viable unless the strength-testing process continues indefinitely.

Achievement of First Agreement

Nor should it be assumed that the contradictions have ended. If we read the national dialogue agreements, we see that what was signed is a basic understanding that

sets forth the mechanisms for continuing the discussions that eliminate—at least among the parties to the dialogue—talk of definitive strength-testing actions, this being the great achievement of the agreements signed thus far. In this process we will encounter thousands of obstacles when it comes time to define specific policies.

The agreements, however, will give us a point of reference and some principles so that we can manage our disagreements. The consolidation of the national dialogue process will give us more strength so that we can face the future from a democratic and sovereign position. National dialogue, the force of democracy, and our sovereign aspiration will prevent us from repeating the long night of Somocism and the wars in our country.

We are still in the midst of a very serious crisis. We all claim to be defending the interests of the people. I think that if we can avoid further crises, in a climate of ongoing national dialogue, Nicaragua will have bread and peace in the near future.

* Government Policy Blamed for Contra Unrest

91CA0030B Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 8 Nov 90 p 3

[Commentary by Santos Mendez]

[Text] The National Opposition Union (UNO) government, which brought the bourgeoisie to power with its platform, now faces major contradictions. It has been incapable of responding to the expectations of its constituents. Meanwhile, the economic crisis is worsening and agrarian conflicts in different regions of the country are growing sharper, even though the agrarian commission has begun working in the most strife-torn areas.

If we consider the origins of the agrarian conflicts, we realize that in principle, this government is adhering to a class position; it is the reorganization of a bourgeoisie that cannot achieve its goals alone, and has had to ally itself with the Somocists. The popular sectors that mistakenly lent their support to UNO are having to cope with its antipopular measures day after day.

The promulgation of Decrees 10-90 and 11-90 (the first regarding leases and the second regarding the return of property to the bourgeoisie and the Somocists) is one of the principal detonators in the agrarian conflicts. Instead of pacifying, they have lit the fuse of war. The government is primarily responsible for this, because it has offered no solution to the agrarian problems. As a result, some groups of Contras have resorted to violence rather than seeking mechanisms that will lead to a sensible dialogue.

More than 17 people have lost their lives and more than 50 have been wounded in the latest conflicts in San Juan de Rio Coco, Waslala, Rancho Grande, La Dalia, Muy Muy, San Jose de Bocay, Wiwili, El Coral, and other places. Peasant families there are grappling with land problems and takeovers of highways and towns by *desalzados* [former Contras who recently laid down their arms]. These incidents also have an impact on the country's economic and social activity, and they are taking place with the complicity of a revanchist sector of the government and some members of the Catholic Church hierarchy.

In addition to the government's passivity in the face of the agrarian conflicts, there is the problem of the *desalzados*, some of whom have chosen to participate in the national dialogue through the agrarian commissions. Others, however, supported by mayors, sympathetic councilmen, the Godoyists, and the leadership of the Higher Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), are beating the drums of war. They pose a threat to the efforts that the various social sectors have made in signing the agreements for economic and social dialogue.

These actions are outside the law; that is, they promote anarchy. The government should make sure that the constitutional order prevails, and should appeal to its officials to stop and think before they hastily violate the law for revanchist purposes. Otherwise, it should replace them with people who are patriotic enough to put national interests first.

Although it is true that progress has been made in forming agrarian commissions, it is still unable to keep up with the urgent demand for the resolution of conflicts. Sufficient financial resources are required to expedite the solution for 25,000 peasant families, some 19,000 *desalzados*, and 5,000 demobilized soldiers of the Sandinist Popular Army (EPS). Most of them have peasant backgrounds, and the only alternative is to give them land and the economic resources they need to survive.

The agrarian commissions are the operative mechanism for fulfilling economic and social dialogue agreements, but they should expedite the creation of land banks with idle land owned locally by workers and the cooperatives, as well as idle privately-owned land whose owners cannot make it produce.

Why is it so urgent that this land be turned over to the peasants? Because crops can still be planted in the region with the greatest precipitation, and this will contribute to the production of basic grains. The government must fulfill its promises without endangering the achievements of the workers and peasants, as promoted by the Sandinist Revolution.

* Hassan Discusses FSLN Unity, Factions

91CA0020B Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 8 Oct 90 p 11

[Interview with National Assembly Deputy Moises Hassan by Roger Suarez; place and date not given; first paragraph is LA PRENSA introduction]

[Text] Moises Hassan, deputy to the National Assembly and a former Sandinist leader who was familiar with the inner workings of the Sandinist National Liberation

Front (FSLN), said in an interview granted to LA PRENSA that he does not believe the current members of the executive board want to fill the post left by the late Carlos Nunez Tellez by naming another person to the National Directorate (DN).

Here is the interview:

[Suarez] Dr. Hassan, the National Directorate has been reduced from nine members to seven. Do you think that party will name replacements for Humberto Ortega and Carlos Nunez?

[Hassan] First I would like to say that the DN does not have seven members, but eight; in practice, Humberto Ortega is certainly still participating in the most important decisions of the FSLN.

[Suarez] But will it replace Nunez?

[Hassan] My idea is that there will be no replacement, that they will leave the DN the way it is. Appointing a person to Nunez' post would not help maintain unity in that party, as many groups that exist within Sandinism would try to get one of their members on the DN in order to improve their balance of power.

In addition, I don't think the members of the DN are interested in sharing power with anyone else, even people in their own respective groups. They know that the fewer people there are on the DN, the more power each commander has.

[Suarez] You mention groups that are operating within Sandinism. Who are the leaders of these groups?

[Hassan] At this time I see a relatively small but better organized group, with greater resources and better internal and external relations, and that is the group led by the two Ortega brothers.

Within this group there are two currents: that of Commander Daniel Ortega, who has the National Workers Front (FNT) as a weapon, and that of Humberto Ortega, who has the real weapons.

Humberto is proceeding with caution because he has that huge chunk of power. Daniel, on the other hand, is looking for ways to gain more power, and that is why he is using the FNT.

[Suarez] Are there other groups?

[Hassan] The other large part of the Front does not make up a big group, as I see it, but is divided into small, confused groups with different leaders who are unable to draw them together.

[Suarez] What about the Sandinist Front's ideological tendencies?

[Hassan] These ideological and political tendencies died some time ago. Now all that exists are those groups that are forming around personal or family interests. What exists is whoever can win or maintain the greatest share of power.

[Suarez] Dr. Hassan, is there any code or mechanism for replacing or electing a member of the DN?

[Hassan] Yes, the members of the National Directorate used to have their alternates. But that was before the Sandinist victory. After that, I don't know if there are alternates. All this is so secret that only the DN could say whether there are alternates.

[Suarez] But how did these replacements occur before?

[Hassan] As I said, all this is very secret. But for example, when Pedro Arauz died, Bayardo Arce was promoted to the DN.

[Suarez] Dr. Hassan, were you an alternate for one of the nine?

[Hassan] I was never an alternate because I always behaved independently, and to be named an alternate you had to have a great deal of dependence on and close ties with a certain member of the DN.

Members of the Front advised me to find a patron or to join one of the groups of the DN. But I didn't do it.

[Suarez] How did Nunez get to the DN?

[Hassan] Nunez belonged to a small group of about 50 members when the triumph of the Revolution came. But through those political maneuvers that always take place in a struggle, Humberto Ortega, who was the leader of the "tercerists," and Daniel, who was his second-in-command, were succeeding in unifying the Front. They opened the door for Carlos Nunez.

We must recall that the sharp disagreements were between the "tercerists" and the Prolonged Popular War (GPP) [Sandinist faction]. The GPP expelled Wheelock and Carrion from the Front, but they were supported by the Ortegas. Afterwards, Henry Ruiz and Pedro Arauz expelled the Ortega brothers, accusing them of stealing or withholding funds abroad and of not sending them to the people who were fighting in the Nicaraguan mountains.

But this expulsion was symbolic, because the Ortegas abroad were already a bigger group than the one that was expelling them. The Ortegas had been working silently, and they had cultivated funds and relations abroad, just as they were accused of doing.

So, as I said, in the political game the Ortegas, who by then were more or less allied with Nunez' proletarian group, managed to get him on the DN on an equal footing. Then they took aim at the members of the GPP faction of Borge, Henry Ruiz, and Bayardo Arce.

* Commentary on Alfredo Cesar, Sandinist Stand

91CA0020A Managua BARRICADA in Spanish
18 Oct 90 p 3

[Commentary by Oscar Tellez]

[Text] I agreed, but to be honest, I was surprised, although agreeing was the only thing I could do. I had just never imagined it. Agreeing with a Sandinist is neither strange nor surprising, but agreeing with a Conservative—now that struck me as a real novelty. Although for different reasons and purposes, we agree with each other on one person, his virtues and defects.

The subject of our mini-accord is none other than the new secretary of the National Assembly's Executive Board, Alfredo Cesar.

After a short conversation, he said to me: "Look, Oscarramon, Dr. Miriam Arguello is better as chairperson than Alfredo Cesar, as far as the Sandinist Front is concerned. She is a constant and consistent adversary, whereas you never know what to expect from this gentleman." I can only say he is right. Let the truth be known: The Conservative deputy really did not have to do anything to convince me, as I was already convinced.

The conversation began when he remarked to me that the deputy who is now chairperson of the foremost power in the nation had requested of him that the text agreed upon in the National Dialogue Commission be kept, as she had committed herself to it. But it had to be modified at the request of the person who later tried to pass himself off as the architect of the historic document.

It would be difficult for a cat to make so many twists and turns before landing on his feet. Cesar is in better shape than a cat, although we shall see.

First, he disappointed his entrepreneurial mentor by joining the Sandinists. Then, without a trace of nausea, he betrayed the Sandinist Front and went over to the counterrevolution, where he has shown great flexibility, great versatility. This enabled him to scale the heights of that organization, which, once again, in a "patriotic" gesture, he abandoned to join the presidential campaign of Dona Violeta. From there he emerged "triumphant."

Now, as a deputy, he failed to honor his commitment to support a certain ticket for the Executive Board of the National Assembly. Putting his ambitions first, he took a different course of action. But he is not satisfied with that, and now he is apparently interested in the Foreign Ministry and in stealing the thunder of his undeniable adversary, Dr. Miriam Arguello. If it were not an offense to Fouche, I would even say that he resembles him.

I maintain that some of us Sandinists have been ingenuous in the way we have approached our relations with this citizen, for whom political morality is a mere intellectual reference. We even went so far as to consider supporting him in his aspirations to become chairperson of the National Assembly, thinking that this would favor our positions in the Assembly or that it would improve communication with the government.

In fact, what we would be doing is playing into the hands of this man, in addition to sending mixed signals, because in this manner, he would always be sure of when and where to count on the Sandinist bloc. In this case, the Sandinist Front should rethink its analysis to include the possibility of ad hoc alliances. We must consider three fundamental aspects.

The first has to do with the characteristics of this deputy, which suggest that Alfredo Cesar is only interested in power for Alfredo Cesar. This man would like to control the faction of UNO [National Opposition Unit] that opposes him—but that undoubtedly agrees with him—as well as the faction of the Sandinist Front which also agrees with him under some circumstances. This gives him control of a handy faction, with the other two in permanent confrontation, facilitating his swings back and forth. This suggests to us that our decisions within the National Assembly should be based on our strategic political interests and not on apparent ideological similarities.

Although this may seem a truism, another factor we should consider is that this man is our political adversary and nothing else, even though he may try to seem like an ally against the radical positions of UNO. We must treat him as such, then, realizing that he is very likely the adversary we will have to contend with in future electoral battles.

One of the greatest mistakes we Sandinists made was to ignore the lessons of history and of the great masters of politics. We are not the first inhabitants on this planet; we should recall that Western culture, political culture, goes back more than 3,000 years.

As early as 1513, the principal precursor of political science stated in his seminal work "The Prince": "Anyone who favors the power of another digs his own grave." Let us Sandinists, then, stop making our own coffins; enough have been made already.

The last consideration has to do with the future election of the chairperson of the National Assembly. We should take into account the performance of Dr. Miriam Arguello as chairperson when deciding our position on this matter. So far, despite the extremely difficult circumstances she has had to deal with, Dr. Arguello has proven to be steadfast, astute, and mature. In this way, she has been able to rise above her own political supporters in the office she holds.

These considerations do not mean that we should fear alliances with Don Alfredo; what I am trying to do is call our leaders' attention to the need to avoid giving anyone the stick with which they can beat us on the head, or to avoid what Machiavelli himself pointed out: "Men in their imprudence see only the initial benefit of things, without realizing the poison they conceal."

Hurrah for the agreement! Hurrah for the mini-accord!

Panama

Endara: Government Not Pressured With Treaty

PA2911030690 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] President Guillermo Endara Galimany said today that his government does not feel it is being pressured to sign the Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty [TALM] between the United States and Panama.

[Begin recording] [Endara] I insist, the United States has stated its position, with conviction, and we have stated ours, with the same—or even greater—conviction.

[Reporter] Mr. President, if all the groups....[corrects himself] if most of the groups in the country reject TALM, then why should it be signed?

[Endara] No, no, no. I think you are wrong when you say that all the groups reject TALM.

[Reporter] No, I said....

[Endara, interrupting] No, no, no. Not even the majority. Everyone in Panama is willing to allow a treaty through which Panama becomes a place where drug trafficking and money laundering is no longer carried out. Everyone in Panama is certainly willing to allow this because we have realized that drug trafficking and money laundering sponsored a narcodictatorship, which is the worst kind of dictatorship.

Consequently, let us begin with that. We do not endorse drug trafficking and money laundering, and we are willing to join forces with all the countries of the world—including the United States. If it involves other countries, then we will sign it with those countries.

[Reporter] But....

[Endara, interrupting] If we talk about drug trafficking, however, we must also include murder. We must also include torture, terrorism, and a series of other things. Now then, we are willing to sign a treaty with the United States. We are willing to do so, the banking sector is willing to do so, and the serious lawyers I know are willing to sign a treaty with the United States. They object to things included in the treaty, however, that affect Panama's banking and legal system.

[Reporter] Mr. President, it seems that the treaty is disadvantageous for the country.

[Endara] No. No. If we sign an agreement according to Panama's position, or taking into consideration Panama's position, then it will not cause any damage to Panama.

[Reporter] The 28 November festivities are being celebrated in an uncertain atmosphere and marked by a political rift among the government parties. What can you tell us about this?

[Endara] There is no such rift. There is no such rift. I wish that you, distinguished journalists who are also well-educated people, would not live under the shadow of the past. I wish you would realize, once and for all, the meaning of democracy. Yes, democracy means different opinions.

I assure you that the government parties' coalition is more solid than ever. The brotherhood among all the leaders of the different government factions, parties, and government groups is firmer than ever. For example, the friendship among the two vice presidents and myself, and between them, is more solid than ever. [end recording]

Linares Discusses Relations With Cuba, Treaty

PA2811223790 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 28 Nov 90 pp 1, A-2

[Report by James Aparicio]

[Text] Cuba's position of hostility towards Panama has changed, but there must be a "positive attitude" on the part of Fidel Castro's government so that bilateral relations can improve, Foreign Minister Julio Linares said on 27 November.

"The estrangement basically occurred because Cuba adopted a position of hostility toward Panama," Linares said, adding that the solution to the conflict over Luis Gomez [former Democratic Revolutionary party legislator], who has taken refuge in the Cuban Embassy, and "other factors" could help improve the diplomatic links between the two countries.

Linares warned that the situation of the five Panamanians who have taken asylum in the embassies of Mexico, Ecuador, Peru, and Cuba are "factors of discord," which could cause a diplomatic crisis.

Rodolfo Chiari, former government and justice minister, is at the Ecuadoran Embassy; Rafael Arosemena, former manager of the state-owned Banco Nacional (BNP), is at the Mexican Embassy; former legislator Luis Gomez is at the Cuban Embassy; and former Majors Heraclides Sucre and Gonzalo Gonzalez are at the Peruvian Embassy.

Panama has refused to grant safe-conducts to former civilian and military followers of ousted General Manuel Antonio Noriega because they are considered common criminals.

Questioned about relations with Mexico, Linares said everything depends on Mexico, because "to the extent that it wants to improve and expand its relations with Panama, we are willing to do the same."

Linares announced that the final negotiations on the Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty with the United States might be resumed at an unspecified date in December. A version similar to the one the United States signed with the Cayman Islands might be signed.

Bar Association Plans Protest Against TALM

PA2811183290 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA in Spanish 26 Nov 90 p 40B

[Report by Juan Pritsiolas]

[Text] National Bar Association (CNA) President Jose Alberto Alvarez said yesterday that his group and the National University's Law School students are planning to organize a demonstration at the Presidential Palace to ask the government not to sign the Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty [TALM] with the United States. According to Alvarez, the $84 million the United States is offering in aid in exchange for the signing of that treaty constitutes a "pittance" compared to the damage this treaty would cause to the service sector, which currrently generates for Panama a large number of jobs and 200 million balboas in revenues.

Jose Alberto Alvarez added that the government is making a big mistake by negotiating behind the peoples' backs and under an atmosphere of secrecy all the aspects relating to the TALM. He also said that the controversial document was drafted by the United States in a "confused" manner and lacks well-defined concepts, which is why it can be used to investigate any kind of crime.

The CNA president said that there is fear abroad that the service sector will be taken advantage of. Even honorable governments are uncomfortable with U.S. "snooping."

Endara, Union Discuss Possible Job Dismissals

PA2811162190 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 27 Nov 90 p A - 1, A - 2

[Text] President Guillermo Endara Galimany has described as "a serious problem" for Panama the possible dismissal of approximately 2,500 Panamanian employees of the U.S. military bases located along the banks of the Panama Canal. The president made these remarks after listening to leaders of Local 907 [Union representing U.S. Department of Defense workers in the Canal Zone], headed by Secretary General Ray Bishop, who voiced their concerns because the dismissals may take place in October 1991.

This constitutes a serious problem for Panama because it cannot effectively absorb so many unemployed persons, Endara said. "We already have difficulties in figuring out what to do with those who are currently unemployed, and this situation will worsen the problem," the president said. According to Local 907 leaders, these dismissals will be prompted by the gradual reduction of U.S. military activities, within the framework of the canal treaties. Currently, 6,000 Panamanians work in these military bases located along the Canal's Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

Endara told the Local 907 leaders that—through the Foreign Ministry—he will ask U.S. officials to abstain from carrying out this measure. He said he will bring up the topic within the framework of relations with the U.S "as soon as possible to find a solution to the problem." We will ask that the reduction be kept to a minimum or be done at another time, "not at a time when it is clear—and it is clear to the United States—that our country is in no position to absorb the unemployed," he said.

Although the workers had planned to meet with Endara at the Presidential Palace, he asked that the meeting be held at the workers' building in the reverted area. Labor leaders said that this is the first time a president has done that. During that meeting, the union leaders also commented on problems regarding the allocation of housing in the reverted areas. The president said that the Local 907 workers will have the same opportunities as other Panamanians.

In addition, the workers told Endara that for the past two years, contractors in the U.S. bases have not been paying the minimum wage, which is $2.90 an hour. This is costing the national treasury millions of balboas in revenues, the union leaders remarked, because social security and other taxes are not being paid either.

Police Director on Labor March, Work Stoppage

PA2811224090 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 28 Nov 90 p 1

[Report by Nubia Aparicio S. and Manuel Alvarez Cedeno]

[Text] National police director Ebrahim Asvat has said that his institution will ensure that the march called by public employees for 4 December is peaceful. He added that should there be violent or criminal acts, "we will take action and do so firmly." Nevertheless, Asvat said that the march will be respected because the demonstrators are fully entitled to protest, but it must be peaceful.

"We will protect the marchers, but should the thieves try to take advantage of the situation, we will take action," the national police chief said emphatically.

Asvat, who fielded questions posed by Kiwanis Club members as he assessed the national police's current situation, said that this institution is experiencing a very profound transformation and noted that any policeman "who refuses to heed my orders will simply be fired."

He said that any institution undergoing a transformation such as the one that the Public Force is experiencing, "encounters resistance to change—that is, people who believe that things are not being done in the best way."

Meanwhile, the National Council of Organized Workers (Conato) and the National Council of Dismissed Workers (Consejo Nacional de Destituidos—Conade) voiced their support for the 24-hour stoppage called for 5 December by the National Coordinating Board for the Right to Life [Coordinadora Nacional por el Derecho a la Vida].

In a communique Conato said that it will support the labor stoppage because of the haughtiness of top officials in the current government.

The workers have called for a march on 4 December and a 24-hour extendable work stoppage on 5 December to pressure the government into paying the 13th month bonus to public employees and to oppose amendments to the Labor Code and the privatization of state-owned companies.

Conato said that the government is showing a profund disrespect for the workers' basic human rights.

Meanwhile, Conade agreed to show their participation by picketing all the institutions that dismissed their fellow employees.

According to Conade, the government headed by Guillermo Endara has dismissed about 20,000 public employees, although the authorities maintain that the figure is approximately 5,000.

Conade said that it will struggle to reinstate those who were dismissed and will ask the committee that is organizing the stoppage to include among its demands the repeal of Decree 1 of 26 December 1989 and Decrees 20, 21, 45, and 48, which were used to dismiss them.

Argentina

Police Uncover December Plot To Assassinate Bush

PY2911112090 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1059 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] La Plata, 29 Nov (NA)—Police in Buenos Aires Province have reportedly broken up a subversive plan to assassinate President George Bush. The plan was to fire antitank rockets at the chief of state and his entourage when they passed alongside the Palermo horse racing track during Bush's visit to Argentina on 5 December.

The newspapers EL DIA and DIARIO POPULAR reported today that the plot was discovered in La Plata by the General Intelligence Directorate Special Operations Group of the Buenos Aires Province police.

The police operation included yesterday's arrest of the leader of the extremist cell, the Revolutionary Workers Union [Union de Trabajadores Revolucionarios], which is reportedly a splinter group of the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP).

According to the report, the case is being investigated in absolute secrecy by the court of Judge Alberto Duran, which is currently presided over by Judge Manuel Blanco because Duran has asked for leave.

[Passage omitted] According to sources, the cell members have reportedly been linked to the attack against La Tablada [1988 coup attempt by Colonel Mohamed Seineldin] and with the so-called Che Guevara Brigade, which has claimed responsibility for several recent attacks.

The newspaper reports state that the captured chief of the cell is reportedly Carlos Anibal Monzon Novena, 41, a Bolivian whom investigators have been following for the past few months. It has been learned that Monzon Novena has a background of terrorist activities that dates back to 1975. He was detained and placed at the disposal of the executive branch between 1977 and 1983.

He acted under the pseudonyms of Commander Rolo and Captain Tati, and was arrested in 1989 after stealing teachers' wages in San Martin [Greater Buenos Aires]; this is why he has been linked to the Che Guevara Brigade, which attacked a school in La Boca, [Buenos Aires].

According to the sources, Monzon Novena was reportedly living with a woman called Gringa, who is presumably the contact between the Revolutionary Workers Union and Enrique Gorriaran Merlo [ERP member]. [passage omitted]

The weapons that were confiscated included arms stolen from the Buenos Aires Province police, the Armed Forces, and other security forces in operations in which the victim was tailed and robbed. Antitank projectiles were also discovered; some of them were reportedly manufactured in the 1970's in the clandestine shops of the Montoneros.

It has also been reported that high-powered homemade projectiles stuffed with TNT were discovered. The antitank projectiles can be fired from long distances using FAL automatic rifles and have the power to blow up a two-story house. [passage omitted]

Menem To Request Reports on Plot

PY2911140290 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1325 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 29 Nov (NA)—President Carlos Menem stated today: "When I arrive at Government House I will ask for the appropriate reports" on a terrorist gang's frustrated plan to assassinate President George Bush when he visits the country on 5 December. Menem made this remark after a ceremony in the Retiro neighborhood to dedicate the Comunidad Filli Dei primary school.

The chief of state said he had heard a radio report on the article published today by the newspaper DIARIO POPULAR reporting that a terrorist cell linked to the ERP [People's Revolutionary Army] planned an attack on the U.S. President during his visit to Buenos Aires.

Further on Police Discovery

PY2911120290 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1116 GMT 19 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Buenos Aires, 29 Nov (EFE)—The Buenos Aires newspaper DIARIO POPULAR reports that the Argentine police have discovered a terrorist plot to assassinate U.S. President George Bush during his visit to this country in December.

The morning newspaper did not cite its sources, but reported that in operations carried out in several places in Buenos Aires Province, police discovered a series of documents and maps that were part of a plan "for an attack against the U.S. President just after his arrival in this country."

A Bolivian was also arrested; he is apparently the leader of the extremist group called the Revolutionary Workers Union, which was previously unknown in Argentina.

Police and judicial authorities who are investigating the alleged terrorists refused today to comment on the subject.

The newspaper reports about 30 people were to participate in the attack against Bush, and they planned to carry out the attack with high-powered weapons, including several grenades and antitank rifle grenades, which can be fired by a carbine from a long distance. [passage omitted]

The sources for the newspaper, which published a photograph showing the gang's confiscated weapons and

books, said that the group is linked to the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), a terrorist organization that operated in this country in the 1970's.

The sources added that the Bolivian, believed to be the leader of the group, had been under arrest in Argentina between 1977 and 1983, during the military regime, and that he has a dossier "that includes seditious activities since 1975." [passage omitted]

Interior Minister Comments on Gang

PY2911141690 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1342 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 29 Nov (NA)—Interior Minister Julio Mera Figueroa today confirmed the existence of a subversive gang that was broken up yesterday by Buenos Aires Province police; he noted that one person belonging to the so-called Che Guevara Commando was arrested.

The minister said he could not confirm whether this group was planning an attack on U.S. President George Bush, as was reported in a morning newspaper today.

He has called a news conference this afternoon at Government House "between 1900 [2100 GMT] and 2000" to give more details of this case.

Cavallo Speaks on Bush Visit, Fishing Issue

PY2811170890 Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 1500 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Regarding foreign relations, this morning Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo charged that there are people in this country who have worked to undermine the negotiations between Argentina and Great Britain on the fishing issue in the South Atlantic.

The foreign minister added that these are the same people who disseminated all kinds of rumors, especially those who said Great Britain would adopt a unilateral decision to create an atmosphere of confrontation between the two nations.

He recalled that the newspaper AMBITO FINANCIERO has published a 1986 document in which the United Kingdom claimed fishing jurisdiction for 200 miles from the coasts of the Malvinas Islands, but the newspaper changed the date to the year 1991 [as heard] to make it current, seeking to demonstrate a unilateral measure.

Cavallo refused to give more details about the agreement that was achieved with Great Britain, but he did mention that it is based on a very constructive framework of cooperation between the two countries that will facilitate the preservation of the fishing resources.

At 1700 [1900 GMT] Cavallo will issue a report in detail on the fishing agreements with Great Britain and on the visit of U.S. President George Bush, and at 1830 he will inform the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on these topics.

Meanwhile, leaders of the Justicialist Party linked to the Group of Eight and representatives of social, union, and other political organizations will meet this afternoon in Congress to coordinate a march to repudiate the visit of U.S. President George Bush, which is scheduled for 5 December.

The meeting, which is being organized by Peronist labor leader (Jacinto Gaybur) and Socialist Deputy Simon Lazara, will take place at 1500, and it has been reported that the march will take place on 5 December from the Obelisk to the Plaza of Congress.

Calls Visit 'Important Gesture'

PY2911010090 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2127 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Nov (TELAM)—Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo said this afternoon that the U.S. President's visit to Argentina, which is scheduled for 5 December, is "a very important gesture" and that it "reasserts the importance of Latin America for the United States."

During a news conference at Government House, Cavallo reported that Bush will arrive in Buenos Aires on the morning of 5 December. After honoring General San Martin, "Bush will hold a private meeting with President Carlos Menem" at Government House while U.S. and Argentine delegations hold working meetings, Cavallo said.

Cavallo reported that Presidents George Bush and Carlos Menem will hold a joint news conference and that the U.S. President is scheduled to address Congress.

Sectors To Stage Anti-Bush Rally

PY2911003090 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 2100 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Nov (NA)—Several sectors have announced demonstrations "to repudiate President George Bush's visit, pardons for military officers, and corruption." These sectors will stage a single march that will converge on the Plaza de Mayo on 5 December.

The groups will rally around Bush's arrival in Argentina, where he will stay for only 24 hours. The demonstrations will be staged by the Group of Eight, the Intransigent Party, the Unified Socialist Party, the Movement Toward Socialism [MAS], the Communist Party, political youth representatives from 11 parties, and groups of Malvinas War veterans.

The Group of Eight had planned to stage a "street music session [murga] against corruption"—which would have been called "Go-Go"—and ridicule corrupt government officials with effigies. This sector will now presumably join the march that the left planned to stage at Plaza de Mayo on 5 December at 2100 GMT, during President George Bush's stay in Argentina. Bush is scheduled to be in Argentina until 1200 GMT on 6 December.

To avoid confrontations among political sectors, representatives from several groups have decided to join the protest march organized by representatives of political youth groups and allow the Malvinas veterans to lead the march.

The Malvinas veterans will honor those killed during the 1982 South Atlantic war and condemn sending Argentine troops to Iraq, as ordered by the Menem administration.

The march will be supported by youths from the Peronist Party, the Radical Civic Union, the Intransigent Party, the Communist Party, the MAS, the Christian Democratic Party, the Free Fatherland Movement, the Authentic Socialist Party, the Popular Socialist Party, and the Workers for Socialism Movement, and Peronist Party grass-roots organizations.

Spokesmen from different sectors believe that this demonstration will reach unusual proportions because of the large crowds it will gather and because it will be the first time in many years that all these sectors have rallied around a single objective.

Fishing Agreement With UK Explained

PY2911011490 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2324 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Nov (TELAM)—Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo announced at Government House this afternoon that Argentina and the UK have reached an agreement on a system of cooperation to preserve fishing resources in the South Atlantic.

The minister said the accord "consists of a bilateral agreement with two essential components: the creation of a South Atlantic Fishing Commission made up of representatives from both countries to evaluate the fishing resources in the zone in accordance with the joint declaration issued in Madrid on 15 February 1990," and "a temporary total ban on commercial fishing for ships of any flag" between latitudes 45 degrees south and 60 degrees south.

Cavallo said the South Atlantic Fishing Commission "will meet at least twice a year, alternately in Buenos Aires and London, "and recommendations will be approved by mutual agreement."

The two governments agreed to make an annual evaluation of the 15 February 1990 joint declaration in Madrid, "particularly regarding the duration of the total ban" on commercial fishing.

The commission, which will be made up of a delegation from each country, will be in charge of "receiving from the two governments the information available on the operation of fishing fleets, statistics on catches and fishing efforts, and analysis of the stocks of the most important deep-sea species. The two governments will provide this information as recommended by the commission."

The South Atlantic Fishing Commission will also "evaluate the information, issue recommendations for the preservation of the most important deep-sea species in the area, and propose joint scientific research on these species to the respective governments.

The commission will "recommend to the governments, in accordance with international law, possible actions to preserve migratory resources that inhabit broader habitats and related species," monitor the enforcement of the ban, and make recommendations.

The temporary total ban on fishing in the zone will become effective on 26 December 1990 and the two governments will cooperate in implementing it. Each government "will adopt the appropriate administrative measures in keeping with this joint declaration."

The Governments of Argentina and Great Britain have agreed that the sovereignty formula that was included in the joint declaration of 19 October 1989 is also applicable to this declaration on the protection of fishing resources and its repercussions.

In this sense, it is stated that "nothing during the development or content of the current meeting or any other similar meeting in the future will be interpreted as:

A. A change in the Argentine Republic's position regarding the sovereignty or territorial and maritime jurisdiction over the Malvinas, South Georgia, and South Sandwich Islands and the surrounding maritime areas;

B. A change in the UK position regarding the sovereignty or territorial and maritime jurisdiction over the Malvinas, South Georgia, and South Sandwich Islands and the surrounding maritime areas.

C. Recognition or support for the position of the Argentine Republic or the UK regarding the sovereignty or territorial and maritime jurisdiction over the Malvinas, South Georgia, and South Sandwich Islands and the surrounding maritime areas.

Cavallo also recalled that the joint declaration on sovereignty issued in Madrid last year states that "no act or activity carried out by the Argentine Republic, the UK, or third parties as a consequence of or in implementing the agreement reached during the current meeting or any other similar meeting in the future may be used as grounds to assert, support, or deny the position of the Argentine Republic or the UK regarding the territorial and maritime jurisdiction over the Malvinas, South Georgia, and South Sandwich Islands and the surrounding maritime areas."

It is thus stated that "nothing during the development or content of the current meeting or any similar meeting in

the future" will be interpreted by the parties "as a change in the positions" upheld by the two states in the dispute over sovereignty.

The joint declaration states that the temporary total ban on fishing in the preservation zone will be implemented as of 26 November [month as received] 1990.

Minister Cavallo's statement focused on the methods that Argentina and Great Britain will utilize to supervise the total ban on fishing in that zone.

Cavallo avoided going into specific details on some answers, since the joint declaration only states that "each government will adopt administrative measures in keeping with this joint declaration."

Answering a third question, Cavallo said that each country will choose its own method of patrolling the zone and that, in Argentina's case, the duty will be carried out by Navy units. Cavallo said: "The Argentine Foreign Ministry's instructions to the Navy are secret, which is how they must be if they are to be effective."

He then added that each government "will adopt the measures it deems convenient" on patrolling and that, should problems occur between vessels of the two countries, "the commission" created by the two countries "will go into action."

He then said that the Argentine Government will announce a decree prohibiting commercial fishing in the zone agreed on with Great Britain, which, in turn, will adopt a similar measure.

UK Recognition of Sovereignty Viewed

PY2911024590 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 0045 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Nov (NA)—Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo said tonight that the agreement to preserve fishing resources in the South Atlantic signifies "the implicit British recognition of the Argentine claim to sovereignty over the 200 miles of territorial waters around the Malvinas Islands."

Cavallo spoke with reporters shortly after briefing deputies and senators on the document signed with the UK. The opposition reacted in various ways to the report, which began at 1840 and lasted nearly two and a half hours. Government legislators approved the negotiations without reservations.

Significant, however, were the absence of former Foreign Minister Dante Caputo and Federico Storagni, vice president of the Chamber of Deputies Foreign Affairs Committee. They are the two most vocal opponents of Carlos Menem government's foreign policy from the UCR [Radical Civic Union] opposition party.

Cavallo began with the treaty on nuclear nonproliferation signed with Brazil in Foz do Iguacu. Cavallo said Argentina intends "to sign the Tlatelolco Treaty." He noted that the future signing of this agreement "is not related to the upcoming visit by U.S. President George Bush."

Cavallo then talked about the agreement with the UK, answering numerous questions from Radical and centrist legislators.

Hipolito Yrigoyen (UCR) and Adelina Dalesio de Viola (Ucede) [Democratic Centrist Union] criticized the minister "for putting Congress second in the negotiations." Cavallo said, however, that "all this was made possible by the active participation of Argentine and British legislators, who were able to bring some flexibility to the two government's positions."

Approached by journalists, Minister Cavallo said that "this agreement greatly benefits us, because it also preserves the sovereignty of the islands under the umbrella, which has been a key factor throughout this issue."

Cavallo said UK Prime Minister John Major "favors a peaceful negotiation" and praised his predecessor, Margaret Thatcher, who "responded favorably to President Menem's request to resume the dialogue."

Senator Eduardo Menem believes the agreement "does not have vulnerable points" and "does not affect the Argentine claims over the Malvinas Islands."

Luis Rubeo, a member of Menem's legislative bloc, said that "if Argentina had not resumed bilateral relations, Great Britain would have expanded the exclusion zone." He noted that "for the first time, our country is to be in charge of patrolling the waters."

Opinions within the Radical party were contradictory. While Luis Leon stated that "this agreement makes us look like partners to the usurpers," Solari Irigoyen requested that the agreement "be ratified by the legislative branch."

At the same time, Cordoba Senator Conrado Storani said that Cavallo's explanation was "acceptable" because "he has managed to ban fishing, which would not have been possible without bilateral talks."

Intransigent Party Deputy Oscar Alende said that "a delicate issue has been deeply analyzed," but noted that "sovereignty is safeguarded [words indistinct] by an imperialist country."

Corrientes Liberal Party Senator Juan Aguirre Lanari said he was "satisfied" because the agreement on fishing "is reasonable and does not jeopardize the sovereignty of the Malvinas."

Presidents Sign Joint Accord on Nuclear Policy

PY2811164090 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1546 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Foz do Iguacu, 28 Nov (TELAM)—Argentine President Carlos Menem and Brazilian President Fernando Collor have agreed to create a permanent

system for controlling nuclear facilities. They also reiterated their decision to use nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes and for the scientific and socioeconomic progress of their two nations. During a ceremony held in this city, the two presidents signed the following joint declaration:

The president of the Argentine Republic, Dr. Carlos Saul Menem, and the president of the Federative Republic of Brazil, Dr. Fernando Collor, having met in the city of Foz do Iguacu, considering:

—their determination to foster the ongoing integration process;

—the importance of the use of nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes and for the scientific and socioeconomic progress of their two nations;

—the commitments that were assumed through the joint declarations on nuclear policy signed in Foz de Iguazu (1985), Brasilia (1986), Viedma (1987), Ipero (1988), and Ezeiza (1988);

—the ratification of such commitments by the two presidents in a joint communique signed in Buenos Aires on 6 July 1990;

—the progress achieved in the area of bilateral nuclear cooperation as a result of the joint work undertaken within the framework of the cooperation agreement for the peaceful use of nuclear energy,

Stressing:

—the work that the Argentine-Brazilian permanent committee for nuclear policy has done to promote bilateral cooperation in the fields of research, exchange of information, industrial supplementation, exchange of nuclear material, development of joint projects, and political coordination;

—the visits by the presidents and by technicians to the nuclear facilities of the two countries—especially to the uranium enrichment plants of Pilcaniyeu and Ipero, and to the radio chemical processing laboratories of Ezeiza—that are a clear sign of the level of mutual confidence that Argentina and Brazil have reached;

Taking into account:

—that the permanent committee has designed control mechanisms for the nuclear activities of the two countries and that such mechanisms provide for—among other things—common criteria for the classification of nuclear materials and facilities and for establishing their importance, and for the implementation of reciprocal inspections of all their nuclear facilities;

Hereby decide:

1) To approve the Joint Control and Counting System (SCCC), which was designed by the permanent committee and will be adopted for all nuclear activities within the two countries;

2) To establish that, as a first stage, the following activities will be performed within the next 45 days:

a) to exchange descriptive lists of all their nuclear facilities;

b) to exchange the initial inventory lists of nuclear materials existing in the two countries;

c) to implement the first reciprocal inspections of the centralized record systems; and

d) to present to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) the system of records and data that is part of the control and counting system, for the purpose of comparing it to the records and data that the two countries submit to the agency in keeping with the existing agreements and safeguards;

3) To undertake negotiations with the IAEA leading to the signing of a joint accord of safeguards based on the joint counting and control system;

4) Upon reaching an accord on safeguards with the IAEA, to take the initiatives that will lead to the full enforcement of the Treaty for the Proscription of Nuclear Weapons in the Americas (Tlatelolco treaty) in the two countries, along with the steps aimed at updating and improving the text of the treaty.

Cavallo Says Cuba To Sign Tlatelolco Treaty

PY2911022090 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 0000 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Nov (TELAM)—Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo said today that "the Tlatelolco Treaty, and through it the commitment of all Latin American countries to ensure the denuclearization of the region—and the use of nuclear technology exclusively for peaceful purposes—is in full enforcement."

During a news conference today at Government House, Cavallo stressed the "importance of the nuclear agreements signed today by Presidents Carlos Menem and Fernando Collor." He also announced: "The Cuban Government has informed us that as soon as Argentina and Brazil sign the Tlatelolco Treaty, Cuba will also sign and ratify it."

Cavallo said that as a result of the presidential meeting held today in Foz do Iguazu, "Argentina and Brazil will undertake immediate joint negotiations before the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] to reach an agreement on international nuclear safeguard systems."

He added that this agreement "must ensure that there will be no breach of industrial secrecy. This is the prerequisite imposed by Brazil and Argentina." Cavallo said: "There are precedents to this effect." He explained:

"European countries first achieved an agreement among themselves called Euratom [European Atomic Energy Community]. Brazil and Argentina have now achieved a similar agreement."

Cavallo also said that "another precedent is that of Japan, which also negotiated an overall safeguard system that duly protected industrial secrecy."

Cavallo added that Argentina and Brazil "are in a position to hold negotiations in this regard."

Police Arrest High-Ranking 'Subversive' Leader

PY2911031890 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 0150 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Nov (TELAM)—Chilean citizen Jorge Eduardo Figueroa Monzalbe, reportedly the third-ranking leader of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR), a subversive organization connected with the Communist Party of Chile, was arrested today at the Ezeiza international airport.

Reliable sources from the Federal Police have reported that there is an arrest warrant (issued by Interpol-Chile) against 36-year-old Figueroa Monzalbe. He has been charged with homicide, infliction of serious injury, illegal association, and armed attacks.

Figueroa Monzalbe is reported to be the third-ranking leader in the FPMR. He took part in several attacks [as received] in 1986 against Chile's de facto president at the time, General Augusto Pinochet.

Menem Says Gulf Crisis 'Will End in War'

PY2811125490 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 0056 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Buenos Aires, 27 Nov (DYN)—President Carlos Menem today predicted that the Persian Gulf crisis "will end in war." He said that he considers it "unavoidable." He then grimly added: "Let's hope that I am mistaken."

"Should war start in the Gulf, we will send a bill to Congress requesting authorization to fight in the Persian Gulf," Menem said in the "Tiempo Nuevo" television program conducted by Bernardo Neustadt.

Menem said that the informal, or "black" economy accounts for 40 percent of overall activities, and the gross domestic product is not $75 billion but $120 billion. [passage omitted]

Bolivia

Ecuador's Borja Comments on Foreign Debt

PY2811145290 La Paz Radio Fides in Spanish 1100 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Excerpts] During the Congress session in honor of Ecuadoran President Rodrigo Borja, he stated—to the applause of the opposition congressmen and to the consternation of government congressmen—that maintaining individual freedom, the freedom of institutions, and autonomy must be guaranteed by all democratic governments. [passage omitted]

When he arrived at the Government House, Borja stated that the Latin American countries' foreign debt must form the framework for structuring the U.S. government's economic policy that will guarantee the stability of the Latin American democratic governments.

[Begin Borja recording] What can this change of attitude mean? First, by taking into account that the disproportionate foreign debt of all our countries is also basically a political problem. It stopped being a financial question a long time ago when it became a political question.

From the solution we must [words indistinct] depends a lot on the existence and the prestige of the democratic governments of our region, which have achieved as never before a very extensive horizon in our times in Latin America. [end recording]

Paz Zamora, Borja Sign Cooperation Agreements

PY2811231590

[Editorial Report] La Paz Television Boliviana in Spanish at 2121 GMT on 28 November begins live coverage of a ceremony in which Bolivian President Jaime Paz Zamora and Ecuadoran President Rodrigo Borja sign joint agreements. The ceremony is taking place in the main hall of Government House.

The station announcer notes: "Following productive talks between top Bolivian and Ecuadoran officials, the following bilateral agreements will be signed:

"An agreement on technical-horizontal cooperation for future action to develop the fields of mining, industry, energy, metal mechanics, agriculture and livestock, small and medium-sized industry, arts and crafts, education, environmental preservation, modernization of productive sectors, and greater private sector participation;

"An agreement on scientific and technological cooperation through which the Bolivian Science and Technology Directorate and the Ecuadoran Council of Science and Technology will prepare an annual program of activities in fields of mutual interest to the two countries;

"An agreement for cooperation between diplomatic academies;

"An agreement to prevent the illegal use of narcotics. This is a framework agreement on an important subject for the two countries, given the consequences of the drug trafficking problem.

"An agreement to prevent the illegal use of chemical substances. Through this instrument, Bolivia and

Ecuador are taking a decisive step toward adopting measures that will facilitate the control of sales of chemical substances."

Bolivian President Paz Zamora then speaks. He welcomes Borja and praises the characteristics shared by Bolivia and Ecuador. He points out that Borja is the first Ecuadoran president to visit Bolivia and expresses satisfaction with this development.

He points out: "Our countries are also facing challenges at a broader level than the Cartagena Agreement, at the level of South America or the whole continent. We must redefine our position on the international scene at a moment when the international scene is changing rapidly and extraordinarily. As a consequence, new situations are turning up, like President Bush's Initiative for the Americas, which we must answer. We must present our own initiative in response."

Paz Zamora goes on to point out the advantages of membership in the Rio Group and praises Bolivia's democratic system. In commenting on the agreements signed, he notes the horizontal nature of the accords between the two "equal" countries; Bolivia and Ecuador, he says, will cooperate as two brothers.

At 2146 GMT President Borja begins to speak. He thanks Bolivia for the warm welcome and highlights his personal friendship with Paz Zamora. As he begins to discuss economic and social goals, the station suddenly goes off the air. When reception resumes 30 minutes later, the ceremony is over and the station is carries regular programming.

Colombian President Arrives for Visit

PY2911002290 La Paz Radio Fides in Spanish 2300 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Colombian President Cesar Gaviria arrived in La Paz today at 1845. He was received at the airport by Bolivian President Jaime Paz Zamora with the appropriate honors. [passage omitted]

Brazil

Collor, Argentina To Discuss Nuclear Matters

PY2811121290 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Report by Luis Augusto Mendonca]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] President Collor will meet with Argentine President Carlos Menem at Foz de Iguacu, Parana State. Foreign Minister Francisco Rezek has reported that during the meeting they will discuss common Brazilian and Argentine nuclear matters. He added that the two presidents want to put an end to rumors spread abroad, particularly in the northern hemisphere, which state that Brazil and Argentina intend to use nuclear energy for nonpeaceful objectives. The results of this meeting will be one of the topics that President Collor will discuss with his U.S. counterpart in Brasilia on 3 December.

President Collor will leave for Foz de Iguacu shortly before 0900 and will return to Brasilia by 1430. At 2000, President Collor will go to Rio de Janeiro to attend the graduation ceremony of the students of the Army Staff Command School. He will return to Brasilia shortly before 0000.

Collor on 'Historic' Nuclear Accord

PY2911021090 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Statements by President Fernando Collor de Mello; italicized passages are recorded]

[Text] President Fernando Collor de Mello and Argentine President Carlos Menem have signed an agreement on the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. President Fernando Collor said the agreement signed today in Foz do Iguacu, Parana State, should be regarded as historic.

It marks the beginning of a new phase in our bilateral relations in the nuclear field, creates the possibility of joint negotiations with the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA], and provides for the full implementation of the Tlatelolco Treaty. Therefore, the agreement we have reached today concerns not only our own people but also the people of Latin American and other regions.

According to President Collor, in signing this agreement Brazil and Argentina have taken the final step eliminating any possibility of competing with each other in the nuclear field. Collor explained that the bilateral initiatives are innovative and guarantee full openness and mutual access to nuclear programs.

We have approved a Joint Control and Counting System that will be implemented and applied immediately to all nuclear activities carried out by the two countries, even to enrichment and recycling processes. In the next 45 days we will exchange information on all the nuclear plants and material that Argentina and Brazil have. We will also begin the first reciprocal inspections of the centralized record systems.

The president stated that the Brazil-Argentine dialogue has been extended to the international arena.

We have decided, by extending our dialogue to the international arena, to jointly negotiate a safeguard agreement with the IAEA that could include appropriate adjustments to the Joint Control and Counting System.

President Collor said the Brazilian-Argentine determination to seek new means of cooperation with the IAEA opens up promising opportunities for scientific and technological exchange with the international community.

Cardoso Denies New Economic Package

PY2811123890 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Economy Minister Zelia Cardoso de Mello has denied that the economy team is preparing a new economic package or that a freeze on prices and salaries is being planned. The minister said that there is only one package of economic measures, and that was implemented on 16 March. She added that the program will be fully implemented in every detail. She warned that those who are speculating with the dollar will have a nasty surprise.

On the other hand, the IBGE [Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics] yesterday released the inflation rate for the month of November. It reached 15.38 percent, higher than that of October, which totaled 14.20 percent. National Economy Secretary Edgard Pereira, during a speech at the Fourth Congress of Fine Chemistry in Rio de Janeiro, said that the inflation rate will go down in January 1991 and remain low in the three following months. [passage omitted]

Newspaper Releases Names of Governors-Elect

PY2811181890 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 27 Nov 90 p 4

[Names as published]

[Text] This is the list of governors-elect to date:

Acre: Edmundo Pinto [Socialist Democratic Party—PDS]

Amapa: Annibal Barcellos [Liberal Front Party—PFL]

Amazonas: Gilberto Mestrinho [Brazilian Democratic Mobilization

Party—PMDB]

Bahia: Antonio Carlos Magalhaes (PFL)

Ceara: Ciro Gomes [Brazilian Social Democratic Party—PSDB]

Federal District: Joaquin Roriz [Workers Renewal Party—PTR]

Espirito Santo: Albuino Azeredo [Democratic Workers' Party—

PDT]

Goias: Iris Rezende (PMDB)

Maranhao: Edison Lobao (PFL)

Mato Grosso: Jaime Campos (PFL)

Mato Grosso Do Sul: Pedro Pedrossian [Brazilian Workers' Party

—PTB]

Minas Gerais: Helio Garcia [Social Reform Party—PRS]

Para: Jader Barbalho (PMDB), Sahid Xerfan (PTB) (still undefined)

Paraiba: Ronaldo Cunha Lima (PMDB)

Parana: Roberto Requiao (PMDB)

Pernambuco: Joaquim Francisco Cavalcanti (PFL)

Piaui: Freitas Neto (PFL)

Rio de Janeiro: Leonel Brizola (PDT)

Rio Grande do Norte: Agripino Maia (PFL)

Rio Grande do Sul: Alceu Collares (PDT)

Rondonia: Oswaldo Pianna (PTR)

Roraima: Otomar Pinto (PTB)

Santa Catarina: Vilson Kleinubing (PFL)

Sao Paulo: Luiz Antonio Fleury Filho (PMDB)

Sergipe: Joao Alves Filho (PFL)

Tocantins: Moises Avelino (PMDB).

* Preelection Study of Collor's Stake in Results

91SM0060A Sao Paulo ISTOE SENHOR in Portuguese 3 Oct 90 pp 16-23

[Article by Francisco Viana and Jose Carlos Bardawil, with Flaminio Araripe and Marilena Degelo]

[Text] Contrary to the image being presented, President Fernando Collor de Mello is profoundly interested in the outcome of the elections. He traveled to the United States on Saturday, the 22d, to inaugurate the session of the UN General Assembly, traveling on from there to Czechoslovakia. He did not return to Maceio until Wednesday, the third, to perform his voting duty. But all of this indifference to the results at the polls is just play-acting. In fact, before his trip, Collor telephoned the wizard of the IBOPE [Brazilian Public Opinion and Statistics Institute], Carlos Augusto Montenegro, at least five times to ask for detailed information about the electoral surveys. He wanted to know who had the best chance, in fact, in Alagoas—his choice, Renan Calheiros, or Geraldo Bulhoes, the preference of his wife Rosane's family. Collor also asked Montenegro for accurate assessments of the electoral situation in Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Rio Grande do Sul—precisely those states in which the forces linked with the government are facing the greatest difficulties (see chart).

The Collor Bloc

The President Has the Support of the Majority of the Candidates for Government Office

State or Territory	Candidate	Party	
Acre	Rubens Branquinho*	Liberal Party (PL)	17%
	Jorge Viana***	Workers Party (PT)	23%
Alagoas	Renan Calheiros*	National Reconstruction Party (PRN)	41%
	Geraldo Bulhoes*	Social Christian Party (PSC)	27%
Amazonas	Gilberto Mestrinho*	Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB)	54%
Amapa	Anibal Barçellos*	Liberal Front Party (PFL)	52%
Bahia	Antonio C. Magalhaes*	PFL	45%
	Roberto Santos*	PMDB	24%
Ceara	Ciro Gomes**	Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB)	50%
	Paulo Lustosa*	PFL	27%
Federal District	Joaquim Roriz*	Republican Workers Party (PRT)	45%
Espiritu Santo	Jose Ignacio*	Social Workers Party (PST)	29%
	Albuino Azevedo***	Democratic Workers Party (PDT)	29%
Goias	Iris Rezende*	PMDB	44%
	Paulo Roberto Cunha*	Christian Democratic Party (PDC)	28%
Maranhao	Joao Castello*	PRN	44%
Minas Gerais	Helio Garcia**	[PRS][1]	33%
[MS][2]	Pedro Pedrossian*	Brazilian Labor Party (PTB)	53%
Mato Grosso	Jaime Campos*	PFL	60%
Para	Jader Barbalho*	PMDB	40%
	Sahid Xerfan*	PTB	34%
Paraiba	Wilson Braga**	PDT	45%
	Ronaldo C. Lima*	PMDB	30%
Pernambuco	Joaquim Francisco*	PFL	45%
	Jarbas Vasconcelos***	PMDB	35%
Piaui	Antonio Fretas Neto*	PFL	42%
	Wall Ferraz**	PSDB	36%
Parana	Roberto Requiao***	PMDB	30%
	Jose Carlos Martinez*	PRN	21%
Rio de Janeiro	Leonel Brizola***	PDT	56%
Rio Grande do Norte	Jose Agripino Maia*	PFL	43%
	Lavoisier Maia**	PDT	30%
Rondonia	Olavo Pires*	PTB	31%
Roraima	Romero Juca*	Social Democratic Party (PDS)	43%
Rio Grande do Sul	Alceu Collares***	PDT	30%
	Nelson Marchezan*	PDS	27%
Santa Catarina	Vilson Kleinubing*	PFL	41%
Sergipe	Joao Alves*	PFL	75%
Sao Paulo	Paulo Maluf*	PDS	41%
	Luis Antonio Fleury***	PMDB	16%
Tocantins	Moises Avelino*	PMDB	41%
	Moises Abraao*	PDC	35%

*Supports Collor

**Could be co-opted

***Does not support Collor

1. Social Reforms Party

2. Mato Grosso do Sul State

The president knows that he is playing a high card in these elections. They will produce a new congress, confirmed, like himself, by recent votes, and thus enjoying the representative nature which the current parliament lacks. It will be necessary to achieve a solid majority in this congress. Apart from this, these elections may produce some state leaders prepared to anticipate the process of their advancement. In Minas Gerais, for example, the favorite, Helio Garcia, has already announced as a candidate for the presidency. In Rio de Janeiro, the eternal candidate Leonel Brizola will confirm his charisma. And in Sao Paulo, Governor Orestes Quercia may leave his post due to a surprising victory by his candidate, Luis Antonio Fleury. The polls show him to be gaining daily, and he has as good a chance as Paulo Maluf on a second round, which at this point seems inevitable, in the opinion of Montenegro and Antonio Manuel Teixeira Mendes, the director of DataFolha (see interviews on pages 22 and 23).

According to sources at the Planalto Palace, Collor has already adopted a position with regard to this scenario, and is seeking to articulate a majority parliamentary bloc to support the government. Collor calculates that he would be fully capable of governing if he could count on the votes of 270 to 300 deputies, added to the more easily rallied majority in the Senate, where only a third of the seats will be renewed in this election. The president's concern about the so-called "problem states" in these elections is the result precisely of these calculations. The fact is it would be impossible to achieve the number of supporters sought unless the government forces do well with the voters in such states as Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Rio Grande do Sul.

Affonso and Passarinho

The articulation of Collor's bloc was really launched at the end of last August. This was when Senator Affonso Camargo, a candidate for the presidency in 1989 but nonetheless a member now of the Collor government forces, sought out two colleagues in the Senate, Jarbas Passarinho (PDS) and Jorge Bornhausen (PFL), to deliver a personal message from the president to them. "He is not interested now in forming a new party, but he wants our support in the creation of a parliamentary bloc," Camargo informed his interlocutors, who were not surprised. At that point, the newspapers were insisting on the possibility of shared government power, an indestructible tradition in Brazilian politics. The authors of the Brazilian commentaries always included some who recalled a talk which took place in Paris some time back, during the campaign era, between Collor, then a candidate, and the critic and diplomat Jose Guilherme Merquior. During this amiable talk, Collor told Merquior of his fondness for the method found by Getulio Vargas on one occasion for remaining in power—two parties, one more conservative (PSD), and the other to the left (PTB)—as a dike to hold back the communist bogeyman, as Vargas saw it. Merquior merely commented pleasantly that Collor would be different from Vargas, because he was not a dictator, but that there were similarities in their political thinking, apart from their shared taste for good cigars. And the conversation went on to other things.

No one doubted that Collor would one day reassess this dream. It would not be easy to establish a new party in a country in the midst of electoral confusion, and with new and unknown characteristics, let alone two parties. It would be a much calmer matter, at least initially, to invest effort into the formation of a parliamentary bloc, which is allowed by the Constitution and requires procedures confined to closed and familiar areas—the Chamber and the Senate. Apart from this, the bloc would in practice give the president even greater flexibility in terms of parliamentary votes, because state and personal interests would exert less influence with a bloc than with a nationally structured party.

Luncheon and Dinner Talks

In the early conversations, Camargo outlined what the minimal platform of the bloc wanted by Collor would be. First of all, there was advocacy of the economic stabilization plan, and then support of the plan for negotiating the foreign debt. And finally, the most important point—the bloc should give the government the firmest support on the votes and discussions concerning the wage issue. It was made clear to the articulators that precisely because of this last item, any more detailed definition of the bloc would not be possible until after the elections. The reasons were, among other things, that no politician would like to take a position against the indexing of wages while campaigning for votes. But some outlines in the structure of the Collor bloc are beginning to become clear. For example, Senator Affonso Camargo seems to be the natural candidate for leadership of this new product of the national political imagination. At the age of 61, Camargo was already a man in the confidence of Tancredo Neves and Ulysses Guimaraes, and he also served in the Sarney government. Now he appears beside the new figure, Collor, perhaps to demonstrate yet once again that the paths of national politics really do not change.

A role even greater than Camargo's would be reserved for the initial interlocutor, Passarinho. He has been sounded out for the post of government leader in the Senate, one of capital importance in Collor's relations with the new congress. Passarinho rose in Collor's estimation after he provided two immeasurable services last June, the last month of real activity for the Congress. One was his arguments for supporting the president's veto of the proposed reindexing of wages, and the second was his maneuvers to prevent Minister Zelia Cardoso de Mello from being summoned before the CPI [Commission for Congressional Investigation] appointed to look into the irregularities in the Petrobras [Brazilian Petroleum Corporation], in which he was successful.

These were gestures which Collor has not forgotten. But it is also true that Passarinho once said that he would go to Paraguay to live if Collor were elected. The senator is known for the independence with which he customarily states his political opinions. He is respected by his peers for this, not to mention the fact that at the age of 70, he has already spent 16 years in the Congress. As a result, the citizens devoted to the Collor scheme understand the approach to Passarinho. The first contact was made by his uniformed colleague, Gen. Agenor de Carvalho, chief of the Military Household, who invited him to a luncheon with Collor and the chief of the Civilian Household, Marcos Coimbra, at the latter's residence. Later there was a dinner, again at Coimbra's home, at which the general was not present, but Senator Affonso Camargo was. During both meetings, Collor took the precaution of not inviting the always unpredictable Passarinho. He preferred to wait and see what the senator had to say. There is every indication that it was an intermediary—Minister of Justice Bernardo Cabral, for example—who issued the invitation, in the end.

Problem States

Collor believes that the negotiations in the Chamber to determine its leader will be less delicate. It will suffice for Deputy Adolfo de Oliveira to be reelected in Rio de Janeiro, where he is running on the PL ticket, for him to receive an invitation the following day. Oliveira, like Camargo, has accumulated many years of experience in politics. He came from the old PSD [Democratic Social Party] and served in the PMDB of Ulysses Guimaraes for many long years as secretary general. At the Constituent Assembly, he stood at the side of the relator, Bernardo Cabral, and since then has pursued some negotiations for Collor. He is a man skilled in personal negotiations, and he has a vast range of friends in all the parties. However, a bloc is not created by shrewd organizers alone. What is needed, first of all, is to find the parliamentarians who will be its members. Here Collor's efforts come up against more complicated factors, although the results of the elections, as they are foreseen at this point, will be fully in his favor. "If the votes were cast today, we would have a minimum of 23 of the 27 governors on our side," one of the president's veteran political advisors said on Thursday, the 27th. He supplemented his optimistic reasoning with an explanation that these governors "will certainly have a decisive influence on their state parliamentary benches."

The numbers justifying these rosy conclusions are impressive. Among the favorites revealed by the polls, 12 candidates supported Collor on the first presidential election round in 1989. And nine others did so on the second round. On the list of favorites, only Leonel Brizola (Rio de Janeiro), Roberto Requiao (Parana), Alceu Collares (Rio Grande do Sul), and Wilson Braga (Paraiba), were not, strictly speaking, Collor supporters in the 1989 presidential elections. And the government articulators further say that Braga would be "easily co-opted," given his situation as the probable future governor of a poor state which is always dependent on federal funds. Even so, the number of governors elected will mean little in terms of the parliamentary benches. Collor needs victories in the large states, such as Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Parana, and Rio Grande do Sul, where the greatest numbers of congressmen are concentrated.

The Quercia Problem

Sao Paulo is the most symptomatic state, within this line of reasoning. There Collor has encountered complications in recent days. As a result of the influence of his brother, Leopoldo, he expressed his public support of the candidacy of Paulo Maluf for the gubernatorial post. He met with the worker-candidate of the old PDS in his office on the morning of Wednesday, the 19th. They exchanged pleasantries and vague statements of political agreement. Subsequently this scene was repeated incessantly in the free time of the candidate who led the polls with 41 percent of the voting intentions, according to the IBOPE, and 40 percent, according to DataFolha. Sources at the Planalto Palace say that Collor paid a campaign debt for Maluf, thus winning his support in the second round in 1989. But at least one politician close to the president explains this venture as "a preventive anti-Quercia measure," and there will be few observers who do not see the meeting between Collor and Maluf from this point of view.

Collor has probably assessed the consequences of the accelerating rise of Quercia's candidate, Luis Antonio Fleury, in the polls, and come to the conclusion that his triumph, which at this point does not seem possible, would in practice mean an undesirable acceleration of the succession process. Strengthened by victory, Quercia would immediately declare his candidacy for 1994, and the president would have no way of halting his advance toward the Planalto Palace.

As everyone knows, Maluf is an incorrigible candidate for the presidency, but according to the analysis at the Palace, "he is not as frightening as Quercia." He does not have as great a potential for organization outside his traditional political areas. And he would still be very busy, at least for the next two years, with the administration of Sao Paulo. In any case, when asked how he

feels about being chosen by Collor as his number one adversary, Quercia answers: "I am not that concerned."

But there are indications of a confrontation already developing. On Wednesday, the 26th, the governor went to Rubineia to inaugurate the Santa Fe Bridge project over the Parana River, in which connection he signed an agreement with the federal government. "I signed this agreement, but it represents no subservience. I am not like the other fellow," he made a point of stating in his inaugural address. Those with the clearest understanding will see proof here of the difficult relations existing between the Planalto and the Bandeirantes Palaces. For a long time, this agreement reposed in a desk drawer at the Ministry of Infrastructure—until the day when the farmers in the region blocked 10 kilometers of Highway BR-116 in a protest demonstration. The most common opinion is that Quercia sponsored this demonstration of rebellion. That is possible, because the ministry appealed to the state police to intervene in order to eliminate the blockage of the road, but no police ever appeared there. It was only then that the agreement was signed.

In one way or another, Collor must now rely on a victory for Maluf, which is not an absolute certainty. The IBOPE itself now seems to be counting on the second round. And Fleury has the same chance as Maluf therein, according to what the research institutes say. The second round, the experts say, will decide everything. Collor will have a reason for concern, moreover, even if Maluf wins, as he is not in a position to carry a majority bench with him. The majority of the deputies would still represent a complex of forces which are today in opposition to Collor—the PMDB, PSDB, PT and some small leftist parties.

Garcia's Ambitions

There are those who say that Collor would still have some potential for negotiating with Quercia. But his most likely solution would be to rely on the PSDB. "Toucans" such as Jose Serra and Fernando Henrique Cardoso have always been those mentioned as likely members of the Collor cabinet. This could be the case again. Particularly if Covas fails to achieve definition in the second round this time. It is no accident that Quercia, who has in hand a foreseeable bench of 25 percent to 30 percent for the PMDB, favors the idea of reorganizing the party entirely after the election, returning it to the opposition tradition of the past. The governor is even thinking of dropping the "P" from the party name, making it the MDB again.

The difficulties encountered by Collor in Rio de Janeiro are no smaller. He has avoided coming out in favor of either of Brizola's adversaries, because from the beginning he saw their inherent weakness. Senator Nelson Carneiro (PMDB) and "Toucan" Deputy Ronaldo Cesar Coelho, however, insisted on waging a campaign stressing the need for better understanding between the state and the federal government. And the president himself was careful to leave open 150 high-level government posts allocated to Rio de Janeiro. They are his stock in trade for the understanding he hopes to achieve, after the elections, with the parliamentarians elected. With what groups, however, will he talk? Certainly, with the minority. The PDT and the PT together appear likely, according to the estimates, to win more than 60 percent of the votes in Rio de Janeiro.

There are also difficulties in sight in Minas Gerais and Bahia. In both states, Collor will have to deal with the personal ambitions of Helio Garcia and Antonio Carlos Magalhaes before he can rely on the votes of their majority benches. Magalhaes is likely to elect 17 of the 39 Bahian deputies, and he may charge a high price for support, which would be consistent with his habit. Collor might possibly be forced to deal with him more closely than he would like. The coordinator of the presidential campaign in Bahia was Pedro Irujo, and not Magalhaes, who only gave him clear support on the second round.

The situation is more complex in Minas Gerais. Collor went so far as to ask Helio Garcia to serve as his running mate in 1989. This was an invitation which the Minas Gerais politician politely refused, in the belief that he deserved a great deal more—first place on the slate. In any case, Collor did not leave Minas Gerais in that era empty-handed. Garcia at least agreed to remain neutral in the election on the first round, although he was ardently courted by Brizola and Aureliano. Later, on the second round, Garcia supported Collor against Lula. And now he hopes to find room to turn toward the Planalto Palace, with 1994 in mind, with Collor's blessing. Even veteran politicians have their naive sides.

A story being told in Brasilia says that when he won the election, Collor gathered a group of his faithful Alagoas supporters—including Deputies Renan Calheiros and Cleto Falcao, as well as his spokesman, Claudio Humberto—at a restaurant table, and proposed a toast to the future. "We will remain in power for 20 years!" That story may not be exactly true. There are those who say that the speaker was Cleto Falcao, rather than Collor, but there can be no doubt that the group foresaw the possibility of remaining in Brasilia for a long time. At the beginning, its members were openly enamored of the idea of making Collor prime minister of the parliamentary government which would begin to function in 1994, following a change in the government regime after the 1993 plebiscite. But in recent times, the parliamentary comet has been moving away from earth. The elections themselves tend to produce major adversaries of the parliamentary system, and automatic candidates to succeed Collor—under a presidential system, obviously. And then there has begun to be talk of perhaps reelecting Collor. This would be possible with a small amendment to the Constitution.

Obviously, Garcia's pretensions only fit into the first part of this story. Given the second portion, which is being written by the more recent Palace occupants, these pretensions shift, with the prospect of hopeless friction.

A similar situation is becoming clear in Pernambuco, in the event that Joaquim Francisco is confirmed as the favorite. He has never made a secret of the fact that he regards himself as a forerunner of Collor, and that it was only due to a matter of timing that he ran a little behind in the race for an outstanding position in national politics. He is young, uses the same political campaign methods, and comes from a state with greater influence in the Northeast than Collor's Alagoas.

Strictly speaking, there are few allies who would not create problems for Collor in his assessment of his future program. This would be the case with Joaquim Roriz, of Brasilia, with an unexpected resurgence of populism in the 1990s. Or with two Goians, Iris Rezende and Paulo Cunha, since no matter which of them wins the election, he will have an easy transition to the Planalto Palace, bringing his benches to offer the president. In Cunha's case it is because he was the organizer of the presidential campaign in Goias back in 1989. And in the case of Iris Rezende, it is because he was orphaned by the departure of former president Jose Sarney from the scene, and according to the majority of his own party colleagues, he would be very ready today for a friendly conversation with the new master of government power.

There is every indication that even assuming the best of prospects, Collor will have some difficult days of negotiation ahead, beginning when the electoral campaign is defined. The case of Ciro Gomes is cited. He is the beneficiary of the largest number of voting intentions in Ceara, with 47 percent, and is likely to win on the first round. Ciro is a man in the confidence of Governor Tasso Jereissati, of the PSDB. Last year, Jereissati and Collor failed to reach agreement after lengthy negotiations, and in the end, the governor went with Mario Covas. Now Gomes is pursuing a cautious line. He says that the governor of Ceara is always under an obligation to maintain "fruitful relations" with the federal government. But he adds that the Collor administration still has "a very fragile ethical and moral conscience," and he is behaving here and there "with worrisome opportunism."

Even in Parana, where his government has a popular approval level of 40 percent, Collor may possibly be required to play quite a flexible game in the coming days. His choice there, Jose Carlos Martinez, of the PRN, is an electoral phenomenon, having risen from zero to second place in the polls, with 21 percent, surpassing veteran Senator Jose Richa, of the PSDB, who won 20 percent of the voting intentions. But Roberto Requiao (PMDB), with 30 percent, is still in the lead, and if Martinez wants to best him on the second round, he will have to form broad alliances with other parties. For this very reason, the candidate has treated Richa with great deference, admitting in private conversations that he might offer him a large slice of his future secretariat. But this would not be enough. The other electoral phenomenon is the banker and candidate for the Senate Jose Eduardo Andrade Vieira (PTB), who is already the leader in the polls, with 29 percent, more than double the percentage of the second-ranking individual, Paulo Pimental, who has 13 percent. And this despite the fact that like Martinez, he was far behind initially, in third place. The survey institutes now regard him as certain to be elected, and thus in the second round, Vieira will be of basic importance. In local political circles, it is being said that an agreement between Martinez and Vieira may be reached, yes, but only with the personal endorsement of President Collor himself.

Antonia's Revenge

The meteoric rise of Martinez does not, however, upset those in the Planalto Palace as much as the rise, slow but sure, of Nelson Marchezan in Rio Grande do Sul. The reason is obvious. Nothing could be more significant for Collor than a triumph over Leonel Brizola in his own native state. And this surprising hypothesis seems possible, to judge from the results of the last IBOPE poll. It showed that Marchezan had reached the level of 27 percent, only three points away from the Brizola candidate, Alceu Collares, who previously had an advantage of 15 percent. This is a technical draw, however. Collares lost ground when his former wife, Antonia, went to the newspapers with complaints about her former husband. She is unhappy with his second marriage, to Neuza Canabarro, which took place in the middle of the electoral campaign, those in PDT circles say. Dona Antonia, a former domestic employee, says that she worked during her youth to help Collares complete his education as a lawyer. And she adds: "After he got rich in the prefecture, he left me, saying that he had many women. I do not know if he has money to give the other women. All he gives me is 40,000 cruzeiros per month."

This attack destroyed the favorite standing of Brizola's candidate. The phrase "Collares betrayed Antonia, and he will betray the people" has been painted on walls all over Porto Alegre. And the social problem is there to add spice to the issue. Collares, a black man, left Antonia, a black woman, for Neuza, a blonde white woman. Aware of the damage being done, the candidate to a television station and, on Thursday, the 27th, he announced in a halting voice, with tears running down his cheeks: "I am giving Antonia a power of attorney. If I had any assets beyond what I declared to the TRE [Regional Electoral Board], I am giving them to her." He spoke of the claim that he is rich, when in reality his statement of assets to the Electoral Board included only a 1983 Opal and land worth 1 million cruzados. This speech probably did not suffice to repair the damage done to his candidacy. On that same day, the 27th, the sponsor of Collares, Leonel Brizola, arrived in Rio Grande do Sul.

Parliamentary Faith

Marchezan did not seem impressed by Brizola's personal intervention. He has confidence in the upward trend in his candidacy, and he is already preparing to launch a personal attack on Brizola in the second round. He is confident that he is advancing in the campaign on his own. He is even said to have refused to mount the Planalto Palace ramp with Collor, as he was invited to do

a few days ago. But no one can deny that his campaign is of direct interest to the Planalto Palace. Very clear messages from representatives of the federal government to this effect have reached Porto Alegre.

One aspect of the strategy mounted by the president for the postelectoral period seems clear. He wants at all costs to avoid an early date for the succession process. To a very close advisor, Collor has revealed his intention of reaffirming his profession of parliamentary faith in the very first days after the election, either in formal interviews or by means of trial balloons in the newspapers. His purpose is obvious. By reasserting his faith in parliamentarianism, the president will put up a wall against those who would like to toss the presidential campaign into the streets.

Another point in Collor's current political strategy which has now been defined is his frank and open reliance on the preferred candidates in the second round. If Maluf and Marchezan, in particular, become involved in holy wars against the candidates sponsored by Quercia and Brizola, the expectation in Palace circles is that the president will plunge even more openly into the dispute. Neither the current vague statements of support nor the discreet encouragement given the government candidates by the ministers will suffice. Where Sao Paulo is concerned, there is even a promise of support which has already been personally defined. Minister of Agriculture Antonio Cabrera Mano Filho has told politicians who called upon him that he is prepared to help Maluf in every way he can—even by providing funds for his potential party colleagues.

It is curious to note that, a year having elapsed, President Fernando Collor is proceeding to establish a plan of political support based precisely on the pillars of the old military regime which his election appeared to have buried. There were political analysts who assessed the volume of protest against the votes cast for Collor in 1989, and adding that to the strength of Lula and Brizola on the first round, made the statement that more than 70 percent of Brazil was a challenging and opposition faction at that moment. This analysis was superficial to the extent that a part of the vote for Collor was, beginning in the first round, clearly obtained from within the confines of the conservative movement. Moreover, the other faction, the protesters, were in danger of being left without a representative at a moment when Collor seemed prepared to base his structure on the same political movement which in recent times staffed the ARENA [National Renewal Alliance], the PDS, or the center—whatever name may have been given to conservatism in the Brazilian fashion in the past few years. The evidence is clear. It suffices to note who stands with Collor in the Congress today. Outstanding among the many icons in the former ARENA sector are Antonio Carlos Magalhaes, Nelson Marchezan, Paulo Maluf, Jarbas Passarinho, Jorge Bornhausen, Marco Maciel, Jose Agripino Maia, Albano Franco, Julio Campos, and so many other names the country knows so well. It is with these individuals that the renewal president now plans to govern the country, adding to these forces new conservative cadres such as Joaquim Francisco, and veteran negotiators from former governments such as Affonso Camargo and Adolfo de Oliveira. Thus it can be seen that Brazilian democracy may have pursued a lengthy path, only to find itself, at the end, back in the same place.

Chile

Silva 'Satisfied' With Return to GSP

PY2811174090 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Relay from Foreign Ministry by reporter Daniela Araneda]

[Text] Foreign Minister Enrique Silva Cimma has received with great satisfaction the report that Carla Hill, U.S. Industry and Commerce Department representative, has recommended to President Bush that Chile should be reinstated into the Generalized System of Preferences [GSP]. The foreign minister, who a few minutes ago received the letter from the U.S. representative, said:

[Begin recording] I am satisfied with this decision, especially for verifying once again what I have always said, that I was optimistic about this matter. I was optimistic because the background information we have available prompted us to work calmly but with a perfectly defined idea. [end recording]

Silva Cimma stated that the thorough assessment made by the U.S. Government of the efforts being made by the Chilean democratic authorities has had a tremendous impact on U.S. authorities and has caused them to adopt this decision. It is appropriate to mention that Chile has been excluded from the Generalized System of Preferences since 1978.

Foxley Confirms End of Restrictions

PY2811175690 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Finance Minister Alejandro Foxley today confirmed that the U.S. Government will lift the restrictions on Chile within the GSP. He also said that the low inflation rate expected for November shows that inflation is under control.

[Begin Foxley recording] This means that exports from small and medium-sized Chilean enterprises will have access to the U.S. market, where initial sales can reach as much as $100 million. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Aylwin Satisfied With Return to GSP

PY2911030790 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0253 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Santiago, 28 Nov (EFE)—Chilean President Patricio Aylwin today voiced his satisfaction over Chile's imminent return to the GSP, as announced in Washington by U.S. Industry and Commerce representative Carla Hills. [passage omitted]

Colombia

Ochoa Brothers Reportedly To Surrender

PA2811193790 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1723 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Bogota, 28 Nov (DPA)—According to an anonymous phone call to the Bogota morning paper EL TIEMPO, the brothers Juan David and Fabio Ochoa, heads of the Medellin Cartel, will soon turn themselves in to protect themselves under a decree issued by the Colombian Government. The decree specifies that the drug traffickers who turn themselves in will not be extradited and their sentences will be reduced by as much as one-third.

According to the report received yesterday in the newspaper's office, the members of the mafia "will turn themselves in as a first step toward the peace that all Colombians are hoping for."

The Extraditables—the armed wing of the drug mafia—pointed out that some 300 of its members are willing to turn themselves in voluntarily, as long as the executive branch will protect them in a top-security prison guarded by the Army, the Navy, and the police.

According to news reports, the government is studying the possibility of confining the mafia heads in a monastery of the Dominican priests located in Chinquinquira, 110 km north of Bogota.

According to the anonymous phone call, the mafia capos who will reportedly turn themselves in are the younger brothers of Jorge Luis Ochoa, who is charged with being the second chief of the narcotics and terrorist organization headed by Pablo Escobar Gaviria.

The drug mafia is currently holding eight reporters hostage. Several of them have been held since last 30 August. Journalist Juan Vita, editor of the HOY POR HOY magazine, was released by the drug traffickers on 26 November because his heart condition worsened during the 87 days he spent as a hostage.

The mafia is still holding the following journalists: Diana Turbay, Azucena Lievano, German citizen Hero Buss, Francisco Santos Calderon, Maruja Pachon, Beatriz Villamizar, and photographers Richard Becerra and Orlando Acevedo.

EL TIEMPO reported that the person who called the newspaper said that "we have released Vita and are going to release all the journalists if the government complies with the just treatment we are demanding and the guarantees we are requesting."

The Extraditables have stated in several messages that the journalists were kidnapped in retaliation for the alleged violations of human rights committed by the police in their struggle against drug trafficking.

More on Brothers' Possible Surrender

PA2911014790 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 2 in Spanish 0012 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Report by Amparo Ponton in Medellin—recorded]

[Text] Two members of the Ochoa clan, Juan David and Fabio, have reportedly sent letters to the government requesting specific details about the law for reducing sentences and not being extradited so that they can study the possibility of accepting the new regulations for drug traffickers who surrender to Colombian authorities and confess to at least one crime.

The first letter was sent to Marta Luz Hurtado, director of criminal investigations in Medellin, and it was answered by Justice Minister Jaime Giraldo Angel, who emphasized the need to provide all the necessary guarantees for all people wanting to abide by the law. This includes sending an itinerant judge to a place where the confession can be made securely.

Nothing is known about the second letter other than the fact that it exists and that one of the Ochoas wrote it. Although the government has confirmed its existence, it has refrained from revealing the author's name for security reasons.

Meanwhile, other members of the Ochoa family have spoken with this newscast and said they knew nothing about the letter, but they added that the Ochoa clan wants peace.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Would you approve their surrender?

[Maria Cecilia Ochoa, not further identified family member] That is a very personal matter. We have to wait and see what they think about this.

[Reporter] Do you believe that, if the solution is viable, the violence will end if they turn themselves in and both parties honor their pledges?

[Ochoa] The important thing is for both parties to honor their pledges. Peace would be possible if this happens. [end recording]

No charges have been filed against Fabio or Juan David Ochoa Vasquez in Colombia.

Guerillas Offer Cease-Fire, Request Direct Talks

PA2811223890 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 2 in Spanish 1730 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia [FARC] and the Army of National Liberation [ELN] have announced that they are ready for a unilateral cease-fire, if dialogue with the government begins immediately. The offer was made by guerrilla leader Raul Reyes in an interview granted to Spanish television. Camilo Tovar has the following information:

[Begin recording] [Tovar] FARC and the ELN have insisted that talks be held with international observers, specifically from France and Spain.

[Ruiz] The Guerrilla Coordinating Board proposes the following to the government, which we would like known to the world: First, a bilateral cease-fire, to allow the people to express their opinions in the constituent assembly election. Second, direct talks with the government at the ministerial level. Third, we propose that there be international supervision by persons with world political standing, such as Mr. Felipe Gonzalez, French President Mitterrand, and other world political figures. We also propose that they appear before the European Parliament so that the European Parliament may also be an observer of the negotiations and the talks between the Coordinating Board and the government.

[Tovar] The guerrilla leader said he was now waiting for the government's answer to begin the talks. [end recording]

On this same subject, The Noon Newscast has just spoken directly with a responsible government source, who has told us that the government is ready to begin talks immediately with FARC and the ELN, as long as these organizations demonstrate true willingness to talk by releasing at least 80 of the people they hold hostage.

Chemical Spill Reportedly Kills 35 Million Fish

PA2911030390 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0006 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Barrancabermeja (Colombia), 28 Nov (EFE)—At least 35 million fish were killed as a result of a chemical spill in San Silvestre Lake (northern Colombia), where the authorities have declared an ecological and health emergency.

Experts of the Institute for Development of Renewable Natural Resources (Inderena) are investigating the cause of the ecological disaster which occurred on 22 November in the Rosario Canal, killing fish of several kinds, small crocodiles, and newly hatched turtles that were found floating on the waters of the Sogamoso River.

Although experts initially attributed the contamination of the waters to the Colombian Petroleum Enterprise drainage that spills into adjoining canals, Gabriel Reyes, Ecopetrol manager in Barrancabermeja, said that the company has dehydration plants for residual waters.

Biologists Jairo Puentes and German Echeverri, Inderena officials, said that the residue of herbicides used to fumigate the plantain crops is also being considered as a possible contaminant.

The mayor's office in Barrancabermeja, Santander Department, has warned the people of the danger of using water from San Silvestre Lake and Rosario Canal or eating fish that survived the contamination, because they may come down with gastrointestinal disorders.

Also, it noted that the toxic spill has caused multimillion dollar losses to fishermen and to the neighboring inhabitants of El Llanito. The mayor's office explained that the chemical spilled is so strong that it has melted the wire fencing along the edge of the lake.

* Oil Industry Said Paralyzed by Terrorist Fears

91SM0067C Bogota EL ESPECTADOR in Spanish 9 Oct 90 p 7-a

[Article by Alberto Martinez M.]

[Text] Kidnappings and violence have prevented the Colombian Petroleum Enterprise (ECOPETROL) from prospecting for crude oil in four major zones of the country and are causing foreign capital to bring pressure for new policy changes.

Geologists working for the national company could not return to southern Bolivar and Isla Tabaco in Magdalena Medio, to Ayapel in the Department of Cordoba, or the intendancy of Arauca, where the biggest oil deposit in history was discovered.

In addition to asking for compensation for attacks on personnel and property, oil companies are asking for radical changes in the structure of contracts.

Security is one of the risks faced everywhere by oil prospecting, along with contract conditions and geological possibilities.

The biggest concern at present, however, is law and order, generally deemed the only restriction on the policy of explorations.

Despite budgetary limitations of the industry and competition in the world over the oil dollar, ECOPETROL and the multinationals have confirmed investments of $370 million a year aimed at extending self-sufficiency at least until the year 2005.

Nor are there any reservations about the wealth of the subsoil. According to Fernando Delgado, vice president of ECOPETROL Associated Operations, while the United States has an information ratio of 12 km/well, in our country the average is 361 km2 per well drilled.

In other words, in order to have acceptable knowledge of the national territory, it would be necessary to drill 7,348

wells, "giving an idea of the potential we have and the little room for pessimism here."

However, lack of security is leading that foreign capital to ask for better conditions. One list of petitions already in the hands of the government proposes a reduction in royalties, Colombia's participation in and taxes on the production of small fields (under 10.5 million barrels) for the purpose of incentivizing a search for such deposits.

Likewise, ECOPETROL would turn over part of its reserve zones or lower-risk zones to foreigners and increase its participation in overall investments in exploratory programs.

Case of ECOPETROL

"It is a very serious matter to have to reveal this, but there are in fact areas where ECOPETROL has in fact had to give up going," says Mario Yori, president of the company's exploration division, emphasizing the problem.

Attacks by the Army of National Liberation (ELN) are now joined by those carried out by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), authorities say.

At the Arauca Intendancy, for example, rebels patrol on an equal footing with regular government forces and make it impossible for technicians and crews to get in. The guerrilla siege in the area is so strong that two weeks ago, Colombia had to suspend energy exports for three days when it was not even allowed to repair damage caused by an explosion.

On Tabaco Island, where the Colombian firm Ingeser and the Brazilian firm Braspetro abandoned their camps, it has for a year been impossible to return because the facilities were blasted with dynamite and two engineers from that neighboring country were kidnapped. The Colombian Government had intended to surrender the contract to another company but none was interested. It then tried to reoccupy it as an area of direct exploration but could not do that either!

The same is true of southern Bolivar, a region where a number of contracts were given up several months ago with no possibility of going back. The assassination of Pinillos Mayor Isaac Rangel Chema and his brother Aniceto by guerrillas showed last weekend the tension which exists in the zone.

ECOPETROL had also planned explorations in Ayapel, Cordoba, where sedimentary data indicate the possible existence of oil. However, kidnapping, violence, and other forms of harassment have been the reactions roused by seismic teams.

"There is a lack of security throughout the country. It can almost be said that there is not a single spot in the oil basins not affected by terrorism," according to the Colombian Chamber of Petroleum Services, which, on behalf of contractors, is asking for ways to indemnify companies for attacks on personnel and assets.

Underground

ECOPETROL and the multinational companies are now operating on ten of the 66 million hectares that could be worked.

In the past three years, the industry had planned to find 400 million barrels, but scarcely managed 140 for "reasons such as a lack of security and uncertainty." In 1990, the situation has not changed. The goal is to find 150 million barrels and reports from the government company and its associates do not total 25 million barrels.

As it stands, reserves, which totaled 2.2 billion barrels two years ago, will drop to 1.8 or 1.85 million barrels by the end of the year.

In 1991, efforts will be doubled to change those results. ECOPETROL has said it will invest $91 million and the multinationals $140 million, with aspirations to cover areas such as the Amazon, La Uribe, and the Pacific Basin having zero exploration. "That is, if they let us."

For the period between 1991 and the year 2000, Colombia needs investments of $3 billion and, in order to achieve an acceptable level of information of its basins, $23 billion.

This is the heart of the matter because, in Yori's opinion, the world "is opening up to the oil dollar and we are cutting off our own possibilities," as shown by reforms recently incorporated into legislation by over 130 countries and ECOPETROL's rout from the areas in question.

Paraguay

Uruguayan Foreign Minister Gros Ends Visit

PY2811172690 Asuncion PATRIA in Spanish 28 Nov 90 p 7

[Excerpts] Uruguayan Foreign Minister Hector Gros Espiell returned to Montevideo yesterday after a highly significant visit which brought back into focus the traditionally good Paraguayan-Uruguayan relations. During his visit, Gros met with President Rodriguez and with Paraguayan Foreign Minister Alexis Frutos Vaesken. [passage omitted]

In remarks to reporters, Gros announced that the treaty establishing a common market encompassing Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay will be signed in Asuncion within 40 or 50 days. [passage omitted]

Gros also announced that President Rodriguez will soon make an official visit to Montevideo and that Uruguayan President Luis Alberto Lacalle will visit Asuncion on 14 to 15 May 1991. [passage omitted]

Peru

Congress Authorizes President's Trip to Bolivia

PY2811122490 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Congress this evening unanimously authorized President Alberto Fujimori's trip to La Paz, Bolivia, to attend the Andean Pact presidential summit on 29 and 30 November. [passage omitted]

Shining Path Attacks Huayucachi Police Post

PY2811131890 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1907 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Huancayo, Peru, 27 Nov (EFE)—Official sources reported that a police corporal was killed today during an attack by a Maoist Shining Path group on a police post in Huayucachi, 415 km southeast of Lima.

About 20 heavily armed Shining Path men and women carried out the attack before dawn today. About five policemen stationed at the Huayucachi post resisted for one hour until the attackers fled.

The Huancayo prefecture has identified the dead policeman as Antonio Medina.

Huancayo is the capital of Junin department. It is located in the Peruvian central mountain range, 8.5 km from Huayucachi.

The authorities believe that some Shining Path members might have been killed or injured because of blood stains found near the police post.

Bank Chairman Discusses Resignation, Policy

PY2811132690 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Central Reserve Bank Chairman Jorge Chavez Alvarez has reported the resignation of bank director (Marta Rodriguez). Chavez explained that (Rodriguez) resigned because of a disagreement over the designation of the bank's deputy chairman, and that the executive branch will designate her replacement no later than 28 November.

Chavez said he informed President Alberto Fujimori about (Rodriguez') resignation, adding that he explained to the president the economic program that has been designed in coordination with the Ministry of Economy and Finance. The economic program will be submitted for approval to the IMF.

Chavez said that he will ask the IMF to authorize Peru to repay the foreign debt in small installments, thus avoiding further sacrifice by the people.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Has Dr. (Marta Rodriguez) been dismissed from her post at the Central Reserve Bank Executive Board?

[Chavez] Well, my visit to the Government House has to do with this decision. After learning about the resignation of Miss (Marta Rodriguez) I came to talk about it with the president. The problem is that Miss (Rodriguez) proposed a representative of a political party for the post of deputy chairman of the Central Reserve Bank. The Peruvian president believes, however, that this post should be held by an independent person. I believe that this is the reason...

[Reporter, interrupting] Has she already submitted her resignation? It has been reported that she has not yet resigned and that she has actually been forced to resign by the government.

[Chavez] No. The government cannot force anyone to resign. As far as I know, and according to the information published in a morning newspaper today and according to the information that I received from the president, she has resigned.

[Reporter] Has the executive branch pressured her to resign?

[Chavez] I do not think so. I believe that she must have felt rather uncomfortable on learning that the president has a different opinion on the person who should be the deputy chairman of the Central Reserve Bank.

[Reporter] Has (Rodriguez') resignation been officially accepted?

[Chavez] Well, I believe it will be accepted.

[Reporter] Who will replace her?

[Chavez] I do not have that information.

[Reporter] Has (Rodriguez) resigned over the discrepancies within the economic program and with the set of measures that the government will enforce in the next few days, as of January?

[Chavez] I do not think she resigned over discrepancies. The newspaper I read, for example, mentions discrepancies over the fact that some people are more orthodox than others. I believe that it is groundless and inappropriate to label someone either orthodox or unorthodox. Actually, if we look at the facts, we can conclude that before I was installed as Central Reserve Bank chairman, the institution was printing money at a very fast rate, and everyone has admitted this. Consequently, I would say that the bank was being managed in a quite heterodox manner. We then took the necessary measures to substantially reduce the issuing of money, and to struggle against inflation to lower the inflation rate.

I would like to take this opportunity to inform you that on 22 November I will leave for Washington to conclude negotiations with the IMF. We hope that this step will lead to the approval of our economic program, to which we are giving the final touches. I have given the president a detailed explanation of the economic program that we

will propose. This program was designed by the Central Reserve Bank in close coordination with the Ministry of Economy and Finance.

This program provides for a relatively moderate economic growth target of 2.8 percent for 1991. From 1992, however, the economy is expected to grow at a quite high rate, ranging between five and six percent. As I told you, all this has been done in close coordination with the Ministry of Economy and Finance. In addition to the reactivation of the economy, which we expect for the coming years, inflation is expected to remain at a low level, a fact that we have already attained. There is another key factor for the success of the program in addition to the efforts that the IMF could make in rescheduling our payments: The tax reform should eliminate or substantially reduce the considerable tax evasion in our country, as the president said at the CADE [Annual Conference of Business Executives]. I believe that most of our businessmen understand this situation, and I hope that they will positively react so that our country may move forward.

[Reporter] What is the current level of our reserves?

[Chavez] The net reserves of the Central Reserve Bank now stand at $560 million. It is a high level of reserves that the Central Bank has recovered. We must admit, however, that we do not yet have the equivalent of six months worth of imports, which is the minimum required reserve level—according to sort of consensus between central banks—to give credibility to an economic program. [end recording]

* Voting Blocs Characterized; Trends Assessed

91SM0048A Lima DEBATE in Spanish Aug-Oct 90 pp 18-20

[Article by Alfredo Torres Guzman]

[Text] Something over a quarter of a century ago, as a result of the 1962 and 1963 elections, Enrique Chirinos Soto proposed the theory that Peruvian voters were divided into three groups: a third conservative, which at the time voted for Manuel Odria; a third Aprists [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance] faithful to Victor Raul Haya de la Torre; and a third reformist, bound together by Fernando Belaunde. Starting in 1967, the latter group was held together by the Marxist left when Carlos Malpica obtained 17 percent of the votes in his run for the deputy seat from Lima, as Luis Pasara recently recalled. Shortly thereafter, a coup led by General Juan Velasco ousted the 1963 reformists on the other end of the political spectrum. With these variations, the "theory of the thirds" continued to serve—albeit with increasing difficulty—to interpret election processes between 1978 and 1986. And yet, the results of the most recent elections force one to map out a new political typology resulting in a better interpretation of the current Peruvian electorate.

Demographic, socioeconomic, and political factors support the need for a new typology. Some two million voters cast ballots in the 1963 elections, all of them literate and over 21. More than eight million voted in 1990, all literate but now over the age of 18. In 1963, a third of the electorate belonged to the middle and upper classes. Today it is estimated that a fifth of the voters come from the middle and upper classes due to their lower growth rate and the economic deterioration suffered by the country in the intervening period of time. Partly as a result of that deterioration, a broad sector of voters in 1990 has lost confidence in the leaders of the three traditional groups and chosen to bet on a new option. In order to gain an idea of the change that has taken place, one has but to note that in terms of absolute numbers, on the first ballot of the last presidential elections—to say nothing of the second—more people voted for Alberto Fujimori than all those voting for Belaunde, Haya, and Odria combined!

Based on a multidimensional analysis of socioeconomic factors and the political attitudes of the population ascertained through public opinion polls conducted by Apoyo since 1985, Peruvian voters can be divided into five groups. In terms of their predominant characteristic, they can be labeled as "privatists," Aprists, collectivists, educated centrists, lower-class [*chicha*] centrists, and undecided.

Privatists

The highest value for privatists is defense of private ownership of the means of production. In order to protect it, most privatists are even willing to accept an authoritarian government. They believe in the market economy and support a significant reduction in the government's role in the economy. They admire Margaret Thatcher and many of them Augusto Pinochet as well. This group includes a large part of the upper and middle socioeconomic levels and a minority of the lower classes. However, in absolute numbers, about half of the privatists are found in the lower classes. On the whole, it is estimated that some 20 percent of the population belongs in this category.

Aprists

The factor holding this segment of the population together is precisely its Aprist affiliation. Members hold different positions on the role of the government and the market in the economy, although most share what the social sciences call a "populist" view of government. Above all, they admire their main leader, Haya de la Torre, and their loyalty to the party, which has a high emotional component, causes them to follow their leaders in almost any direction the latter would take. This group is found in all social strata, although its presence is slightly greater in the middle-lower classes and rising lower class. The Aprist share of the population is now an estimated 20 percent.

Collectivists

The main characteristic of the collectivists is the priority they give to collective concepts such as the people or the working class rather than individual values. For them, social justice is more important than freedom. They trust the government more than the market to organize the economy and prefer that ownership of the principal means of production be in the hands of the government and social rather than private in nature. They admire Karl Marx, Jose Carlos Mariategui, and the majority Fidel Castro. Most of their leaders come from the middle class, but nearly all of the social base is in the lower classes. It is estimated that something over ten percent of the population belongs in this category.

"Chicha" Centrists

In contrast with the previous case, this is possibly the largest and fastest-growing group but at the same time, the one with the least relative influence. It is characterized by its low level of information and lack of organization. It has traditionally followed some boss from the aforementioned groups, but the experience of the past decade has roused some distrust in them. Most affectionately remember Velasco and continue to believe in a paternalistic, populistic government. They favor private property but distrust the market as a regulator. For example, they think price controls are indispensable. Most members of this group are in the poorest population groups. At the present time, it can be said that some 25 percent of the population is in this category.

Undecided

Most of this group is made up of persons with absolutely no information about politics. Consequently, their vote in every election is determined by criteria which is not political and is consequently erratic or undecided, with a high propensity toward abstention. This category could also include persons politically informed but who for some chronic existential conflict vote erratically or spoil their ballot. This latter subgroup is generally in the middle class, but most undecideds are in the poorer classes. On the whole, it can be estimated that some 15 percent of the population is in this group.

Election Background

In 1963, most privatists, who at the time comprised the largest percentage of the electorate, voted for Odria, while the Apristas naturally voted for Haya de la Torre. However, Belaunde won the elections by obtaining the support of the educated centrists, part of whom had voted for Hector Cornejo Chavez in 1962, and the then smaller collectivists and lower-class centrists. Fifteen years later, with Odria dead and now traumatized by the Velasco experience, the privatists turned to more democratic positions and backed the Popular Christian Party (PPC) in elections for the Constituent Assembly. For their part, the Aprists also voted for their party and the collectivists for the different leftist groupings. The PPC and APRA also benefited from the vote of the educated centrists, while the leftists, thanks to their social work of over a decade, received the votes of the lower-class centrists, many of whom were then making their election debut.

In 1980, Belaunde reappeared and once again managed to gain the support of most of the educated and lower-class centrists, as well as the support, through the theory of the lost vote, of a faction of the privatists and even some of the collectivists frightened off by the sectarian image of Aprista candidate Armando Villanueva. Luis Bedoya Reyes received the remaining privatist votes. In addition to the Aprista vote, Villanueva obtained a minority faction of the educated centrists, and the leftists won the votes of the collectivists and a minority group of lower-class centrists.

In 1985, victory was won by Alan Garcia, who, as a candidate, is perhaps Belaunde's best disciple, managing to combine with the Aprista votes those of the educated centrists, including SODE [Solidarity and Democracy], and a large share of the lower-class centrists. Bedoya again received the vote of the most loyal privatists and Barrantes the vote of collectivists and a minority share of the lower-class centrists.

In the 1990 elections, Mario Vargas Llosa's presidential campaign initially attracted the expectations of various sectors. However, as a clearly privatist message emerged, the lower-class centrists were driven off, for they continued to prefer a paternalistic, populist government. Finally, he managed to make the privatists and upper-class centrists more liberal and less mercantilistic, but did not win the support of the lower-class centrists. For his part, Luis Alva Castro retained the Aprista vote, while Henry Pease and Alfonso Barrantes divided up the collectivist vote. However, neither one could attract the votes of lower-class centrists who were disillusioned with APRA because of the economic crisis and the left because of its confusing split. Having ruled out the four best-known candidates, the lower-class centrists resolved to bet on a new face, Alberto Fujimori, as soon as they heard his moderately populist message.

Conclusions

1—The demographic, political, and economic evolution of Peru over the past three decades has resulted in the formation of six major political groupings: one on the right, the privatists; one on the left, the collectivists; three that revolve around the center and that can differentiated from one another by their unconditional support for a party, the Aprists, and their different cultural level, the educated centrists and lower-class centrists; and a sixth group that can be described as undecided.

2—The group enjoying the greatest relative growth over the past decade for demographic and economic reasons has been that of the lower-class centrists. This group, most of which voted for Belaunde in 1980 and Garcia in 1985, was the fundamental basis of Fujimori's victory in the last elections. However, their low cultural level has always excluded them from major decisions, to the point

that even President Fujimori had to resort to a group of upper-class centrists to put together a government.

3—The group that will define the winner in the next elections will once again be the lower-class centrists. The candidate that manages to establish better communication with them, who feels their problems, and offers them hope of solution in terms they can understand and accept will be the next president of the republic.

Guyana

Caricom Invited To Observe Next Elections

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[Text] Port of Spain, Trinidad, Nov. 28, CANA—The co-ordinator of the International Solidarity for Democracy in Guyana says a Caribbean Community (Caricom) team of observers for Guyana's next elections would be welcomed.

Trinidadian Hulsie Bhaggan said the solidarity committee was "overwhelmed" when the external affairs minister here, Dr. Sahadeo Basdeo, made a call for a Caricom observers team for the Guyana poll, constitutionally due early next year.

"Politicians and other social groups in Guyana have been calling for Caricom groups to observe elections in Guyana over the years and we are overwhelmed that somebody heard that call," she said. "Although there are other observer teams, Caricom should get involved. After all, Guyana is right in our bosom."

Bhaggan said Guyana's president, Desmond Hoyte, was willing to have observer groups in the country for elections and Caricom should not bypass this chance. "All the Caricom heads must have heard about alleged election rigging, and since this is the first chance to see the process of elections in Guyana, they should jump at the opportunity and set up its team," she told the Caribbean News Agency [CANA].

Opposition parties in Guyana claim the ruling People's National Congress has repeatedly rigged elections, but the PNC denies this.